



I BAZZAR SCINI IN BOMBAY

BOMBAY

By

SAMUEL T. SHEPPARD

(Author of " Bombay Place Names and Street Names ",
" The Bombay Volunteer Rifles ", and
" The Byculla Club 1833 1916 ')



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PREFACE



SOME readers may find this book more notable for omissions than for anything it contains. Others may rejoice that it says nothing about politics and very little about some aspects of the history of Bombay that could easily be elaborated into several volumes. I would anticipate my critics and warn them all that this book does not pretend to be even the outline of a history of Bombay : it is only a nibble at a few chapters of that history, made for the benefit of the many people who want to know something about Bombay but who cannot find any book to satisfy their desire. If the book has any other justification than the fact that it is meant to meet a definite need, it may be found in the fact that in writing it I have endeavoured to make use of some of the great mass of material—published and unpublished—bearing on the history of Bombay, which has appeared since the *Gazetteer* was published over 20 years ago. So far as I know, nobody has tried to collate that material, although the need for some such attempt must have often occurred to anybody who has tried in recent years to learn anything about Bombay. Frequent recourse to the *Gazetteer*, by S. M. Edwardes, to the earlier volumes of materials for the *Gazetteer* collected by Sir James Campbell, and to other books, has been necessary ; but there is much in this that has not been published, particularly the extracts from Burnell's early eighteenth century account of Bombay (which I am editing for the Hakluyt Society) and the extracts from the India Office records dealing with the early stages of reclamation. Parts of the book have been published as short articles in *The Times of India* and Chapter X was written for the recent History Congress in Bombay.

Midsummer Day, 1932.

S. T. SHEPPARD.

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CHAPTER I.—EARLY HISTORY.

"The island of Bombay is the antient property of the English East India Company; it hath hitherto been, of all her settlements, the most conducive to the greatness of the nation in Asia; yet, through the splendor of achievement, great acquisition of territory, and immense harvests of wealth in Bengal and the Coast of Coromandel, it hath been in some measure overlooked and, as if in a corner of the world, unnoticed."—*Historical Account of Bombay*, 1781. By Samuel Pechel.

OF the early history of the town and island of Bombay, according to the greatest authority on that period of history, very little is known. Another writer says that the early history of the island is "sunk deep in the Night of Time," and when historians make a beginning like that one may be sure that there is indeed not much to be said.

It is known that there were kings of the Maurya dynasty ruling in the Konkan, the strip of land between the sea and the Western Ghats, from some unknown date until the middle of the sixth century. They were ousted by the Chalukya dynasty, who in turn gave way to the Silaharas about 810 A.D. The capital of these successive rulers in the West was at various times Puri, which is generally identified with the modern island of Gharapuri, or Elephanta, in Bombay harbour. It was during the Silahara rule that the original temple was built at Walkeshwar on the site where Rama is said to have halted on his way to Lanka (which some say is Ceylon) in quest of Sita. That temple was later destroyed, either by Mahomedans or Portuguese. Near it was the Shri-Gundi, or lucky stone, a cleft rock through which countless pilgrims crawled in the belief that they were thereby purged of their sins.

The Silaharas ruled until 1260 when the last of them, Someshwar, was defeated by King Mahadev of Devagiri, who invaded the Konkan with a large army in which there were many elephants. Some prosaic authorities consider it probable that Someshwar was drowned in the sea after taking refuge on his fleet; but an imaginative poet, who was Minister under the conquering King Mahadev and who should therefore know

what he was talking about, has credited him with a much more curious fate than that, asserting that "the Lord of the Konkan, though expert in swimming in the sea, was, along with his army, drowned in the rivers formed by the humour falling from the temples of the intoxicated elephants of King Mahadev." The successor of the unfortunate Someshwar was Ramadev, a ruler who, on the sudden invasion of Devagiri by Alla-ud-Din of Delhi, had to sue for peace with that Mahomedan potentate and to pay him an annual tribute.

Ramadev had two sons, and one of them, called Bimba or Bhimadev, established himself in the Northern Konkan and founded the capital of his kingdom in Mahim,* the first part of the seven islands of Bombay to be inhabited on any considerable scale. That was said to have happened in 1294, and, although not much is known of King Bimba, the tradition survives that he brought a small colony of people with him, built temples and houses, and planted coconut trees. Memory of him is not yet dead. In Mahim there is an *oart*, or garden, where his palace is said to have stood; and not long ago (May 1926) there was a lively discussion in the Municipal Corporation over a proposal—which the City Fathers seemed to think fantastic—to call a park in Mahim after him. Various Hindu rulers followed King Bimba, until, in 1348, Bombay passed to the Mahomedan rulers of Gujarat.

This period of Mahomedan supremacy is no more definite than that of the Hindu rulers of Bombay. In fact it is a period of history that is worse than indefinite: it is—when one remembers how interesting Mahomedan history can be—depressing by reason of its emptiness. "Search as one may"—writes S. M. Edwardes in "The Rise of Bombay"—"for proofs of their connection with Bombay, one cannot with certainty say more than this, that the ancestors of our Konkani Mahomedans once dwelt in Mahim, that a Moslem commandant and garrison were from time to time stationed on the island, and that on four or five occasions our island gave shelter to stern warriors, who chose it as the scene of their struggles with the servants of other Moslem potentates. We are inclined to

* The former importance of Mahim, and the fact that the whole island was at one time styled Mahim, are stressed in a report of the Company in 1675-6:—"On part of the Island of Bombaim stands Mahim, the name formerly of the whole Island. There, in old time, was built by the Moores a great Castle, and in the times of the Kings of Portugall this was the place where his Courts and the Custome house was kept and here were the Duties paid by the vessels of Salset, Trumbay, Gallean, and Bundy on the Maine."

believe that Musalman supremacy was little more than theoretical, and that the care of the people and internal administration were practically in the hands of tributary Hindu *Rais* or chieftains." The seven little islands of Bombay became, under the distant Mahomedan rulers, no more than an inconsiderable outpost, and the only architectural legacy of early Mahomedan rule is the shrine of the Saint Makhdum Fakih Ali Peru in Mahim. The harbour of Bombay meant little to a monarchy based on land power, and whether allegiance and tribute from Bombay were due to Delhi or to Ahmedabad can have made little difference, so long as the tribute was paid. There were occasional revolts, one in particular, in which the Bhandaris—descendants of King Bimba's sirdars—played a great part, about the end of the fourteenth century, which led to the temporary establishment of Hindu rule. But that did not last long. Again the Moslem monarchs of the Deccan and of Gujarat more than once fought for the northern Konkan, Salsette and Bombay, and the forces of Gujarat prevailed. For long years Bombay remained under the control of the Gujarat sultanate, which disappeared in 1572 and gave way to the Mughals at Delhi. Long before then, however, the Portuguese had established themselves in Western India, and in 1534 Bombay had been ceded to them by Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat.

Vasco da Gama left Lisbon in July, 1497, with three ships, varying from 60 to 150 tons burden, and arrived off Calicut in May, 1498. He had been sent to find the sea-route to India, in order that Portugal might get "Christians and spices," and his success in that mission shook the whole civilised world. "The luxuries of the East, which had hitherto passed through many hands before they reached the European market, could now be brought direct to Lisbon. As a result, the sea-borne trade of the Muslims in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea was paralysed, and the prosperous houses of Genoa and Venice were faced with the ruin of half their trade in the Levant, while Portugal rose suddenly to such prosperity and fame that she was soon without a rival in Europe. Persia, too, was threatened with the loss of the heavy customs she had for centuries been levying on the wares which were carried westward through her territory."* Acquiring first the control of the high seas and various strategic points, the Portuguese went on to establish themselves in India. Working north from Cochin along the Malabar coast, they took Goa in 1510, were

* The Cambridge History of India, Vol. V. 1.

driven out of it by the ruler of Bijapur, and recaptured it some months later. In the previous year, 1509, they had paid their first visit to Bombay and had there obtained wood and other provisions without being opposed. The second descent of the Portuguese fleet on the Bombay coast was in 1517. Later, when the Portuguese began to build a fort at Chaul, the Gujarat Sultan's fleet endeavoured to obstruct them and there appears to have been a repeated attack on the Bombay coast up to the time of the cession of Bombay to the Portuguese. The latter event followed the capture of Bassein by Nuno da Cunha, Governor of Goa, to whom Bahadur Shah promptly offered terms of peace. By the Treaty of 1534 Bassein and its dependencies—including Bombay—were ceded to the Portuguese; and in the following year Bahadur Shah, who was being hotly attacked by the Emperor Humayun, gave the Portuguese permission to build a fort at Diu, on the Gujarat coast, in return for the promise (which was not kept) of a contingent of 500 Portuguese.

Bombay, like other parts of the territory in Western India of which the Portuguese gained possession, was divided up into manors or fiefs and granted to deserving persons on nominal rentals and conditions of military service. One Mestre Diogo was apparently the first tenant of part of Bombay. A better known tenant was his successor Garcia da Orta, physician and botanist, author of a famous book on drugs, who paid a yearly quit rent of 1432½ *pardaos*, or about £85 sterling. Of this man, the Portuguese historian Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha writes with pardonable rapture:—"This name evokes memories of a pleasant and glorious epoch when the Portuguese were at the zenith of their power and fame. This was their golden age, a bright phase in the history of conquest, navigation, religion and commerce, when the splendid figures of a D. Joao de Castro, a Francis Xavier, a Luiz de Camoens and others of that brilliant galaxy shone with a lustre that the lapse of four centuries has not dimmed."

In that brief list of great names that of St. Francis should surely be cited first, not that there is any evidence of his ever having visited Bombay but because of the predominance which the Church acquired in Bombay—as in Goa and Bassein—from the early days of the Portuguese occupation. The Franciscan missionaries had reached Goa by 1517: St. Francis arrived in India in 1542: the Inquisition was introduced into Goa in 1560. From Goa there rapidly spread a great and overbearing

propaganda; Franciscans and Jesuits vied with each other in the work of conversion and of church-building; and from about 1540—when the Church of St. Michael, in Upper Mahim, was built by the Franciscans—the Church of Rome made steady and uninterrupted progress in Bombay until the cession of the island to Great Britain in 1661. The Church of Our Lady of Salvation, which after being rebuilt still stands in Dadar, was first built in 1596. Other Churches and Chapels followed. "The Romish ecclesiastics," writes S. M. Edwardes, "earned larger revenues than even the King of Portugal himself.... they lived sumptuously, and were in general so influential that even the General of the North at Bassein felt his position to be precarious."

A great part of Bombay—excluding the manor of Mazagon which in 1572 was granted in perpetuity to the De Souza family—fell into the possession of the Church, the Jesuits owning the largest share, more particularly the northern part of the Island. It is a commonplace of history that this ecclesiastical supremacy, with the religious intolerance which it enforced as a matter of policy, was one of the two main causes of the decline of Portuguese power in India—the other cause being the encouragement of mixed marriages. That is not an argument that needs here to be developed. Nor is it necessary to show how the Portuguese possessions and trade in the East declined during the years of captivity, onwards from 1580, when Portugal became part of the kingdom of Spain under Philip II; how the Dutch rose to power in India; and how it came about that Portugal sought the protection of England. With those wide issues this book is concerned only in so far as Bombay became a pawn in the game of international politics.

England, coming to the help of the Netherlands in the revolt against Spain, broke off diplomatic relations with Spain, and consequently with Portugal, in 1584. Portuguese ships, with a cargo valued at over £100,000 were taken into Plymouth by Drake, and "this success taught the English and the Dutch that what the Portuguese had achieved in Indian waters was, no doubt, equally possible for themselves. Though the merging of Portugal into the kingdom of Spain may be said to have hastened the end of Portugal's monopoly of Indian trade, rival European adventurers were bound to appear in Indian waters sooner or later in an age which produced and encouraged such men as Francis Drake."

The English adventurers indeed appeared before the sixteenth century was ended; on the last day of 1600 a charter was granted to "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies"; in 1613, by permission of the Emperor Jehangir, an English factory was established at Surat; and in 1615 the Portuguese were defeated at the sea fight of Swally Hole which really laid the foundations of the British Empire in Western India. Within a few years other English factories were started at Agra, Ahmedabad and Broach, and, farther afield, the English began to oust the Portuguese from the important Persian trade.*

It was natural that Bombay, with its splendid harbour, from the time of its first exploration by them should appeal to the seamen who were mainly responsible for the success of English enterprise in the East. Who, however, first suggested that Bombay was desirable as an English base is not known. In 1625 the Court of Directors of the East India Company suggested that the Company should take Bombay, and in the following year a joint English and Dutch expedition from Surat descended on Bombay and landed 400 men who pillaged and burnt the town, including the Great House which stood on the site later occupied by the Arsenal, but withdrew without attempting to retain possession. The attempt was not renewed, but in 1652 the Surat Council, exasperated at the way they were being treated by the Mogul authorities, began to think of moving elsewhere on the coast and not only recommended that Bombay and Bassein should be bought from the Portuguese, but started negotiations with the Government at Goa with that end in view. In England too the Directors of the Company drew the attention of the Protector to the suggestion to purchase Bombay, laying stress upon the excellence of the harbour and its natural isolation from attacks by land, although it did not fulfil the conditions previously laid down that the English headquarters in India should be so situated "that trade from India might bee brought and drawne downe thereunto" and that it should be "able to defray its owne charge." This desire of the Company to establish a "national interest in India" and to obtain a stronghold on the west coast was more than once repeated to the Protector. The question was again discussed in 1660, when the Directors reported that they had "some conference with the ambassadors of Portugall for the resigning of one of their holds in India

* Cambridge History of India, Vol. V. 24.

unto us but have found them very high and exceeding unwilling to part with anythinge whilst there is the least hope or probabilitie to keep it to themselves."

Having failed to obtain Bombay either by conquest or by purchase, the Company eventually took it over—by no means willingly—after it had come to Charles II as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza.

CHAPTER II.—THE ROYAL DOWER.

"The Portugalls have choused us, it seems, in the Island of Bombay."—*Samuel Pepys*, 1663.

THE Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 23 June, 1661, providing for the marriage of King Charles II of England with the Infanta Catherine of Braganza, sister of King Alfonso VI of Portugal, ceded the port and island of Bombay as part of the royal dowry; and the conclusion nowadays is natural, though erroneous, that this was as a result of the repeated endeavours made by the East India Company to gain possession of Bombay.

The reason for the cession of the island is tersely explained by Sir William Foster in "The English Factories in India, 1661-64". He shows that, apart from the matrimonial alliance, which was a long-cherished scheme of the Portuguese Queen-Regent, Portugal had urgent need of support in its hard struggle against Spain and the Dutch; and such support King Charles was ready to give, at all events against the Dutch. "Not only was there in England a feeling of jealous alarm at the growth of Dutch commerce and Dutch sea power, which seemed a threat to the national security, but in addition there was special cause for apprehension in the progress made by the Hollanders in their attacks upon the Portuguese possessions in India. Should these succeed—and there appeared to be little doubt that they would—the Dutch would acquire a complete monopoly of the spice and pepper trade in the East, and the English share in that branch of commerce would be menaced with destruction. Portugal, therefore, was ready to bid high for an English alliance, and for this purpose territorial concessions seemed the most attractive bait. For some time it was rumoured that Goa itself—nay, all the Portuguese possessions in India—were to be ceded. Lord Winchilsea, touching at Lisbon on his way to Constantinople, wrote in November, 1660, to King Charles that Tangier (which was important for the security of English trade in the Mediterranean)

was almost sure to be offered; while to the Lord Treasurer he expressed the opinion that the cession of the Portuguese rights in Ceylon (which could then easily be recovered from the Dutch, either by treaty or conquest) would be of more value than Goa or any other place in India itself. Probably, however, the cession of Goa was not seriously considered. It would have been hard to reconcile Portuguese sentiment to such a loss, and moreover the control and defence of so large a slice of territory would have entailed a serious burden on the English Government. All that they really needed was a base in Indian waters, from which effective assistance could be given to the Portuguese, if required; and for this Bombay appeared to be entirely suitable."

King Charles, it must be explained, was as eager as the old Queen Regent of Portugal for the marriage. His bride had to be rich, and several brides had been suggested. As the latest biographer* of Charles II says, the Spanish were particularly anxious that the English Crown should be tied to their policy by matrimony, and presented, in Charles's own words, a whole "litany of marriages"—Saxon, Danish, and even Dutch princesses—offering to endow them all impartially. Charles, who had some memory both of Spanish promises and German ladies, waved them aside: "Odd's fish, they are all foggy!"

The marriage Treaty is a long and intricate document, one of the most important provisions in it being contained in a secret article whereby King Charles undertook to negotiate a satisfactory peace between Portugal and the Dutch, and, in the event of the latter refusing to make terms, an English force was to be sent to the East Indies to defend the Portuguese territories there against the Dutch. By the eleventh article, with a view to this contingency and for the improvement of English commerce in the East, the Portuguese monarch ceded the port and island of Bombay with all its rights, profits, territories, and appurtenances, and covenanted to yield possession thereof with all convenient speed, with the proviso that the inhabitants should be permitted to remain and to enjoy the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion. By the twelfth article, English merchants were guaranteed the same privileges of trade at Goa, Cochin, and Diu as the Portuguese themselves; but no more than four English families were to be resident at one time in any of those places.

* King Charles the Second. By Arthur Bryant, p. 134.

It was not long before it was generally recognised that the Portuguese had got the best of the bargain in this treaty ; and their subsequent conduct in refusing to give up Bombay to the military mission which was sent to take it over presented them in the worst possible light. "The Portugalls have choused us, it seems, in the Island of Bombay," wrote Samuel Pepys in his diary in May, 1663. Yet at the time of the royal marriage, when nothing was generally known of the secret diplomacy that had been conducted, there had been rejoicing and probably great expectations of the benefits to be derived from the possession of Tangier and Bombay. Not many of those who rejoiced can have really known anything about Bombay—though not all can have equalled in ignorance the Lord Chancellor, Clarendon. He may have been puzzled by the Treaty which provided *inter alia* for free trade with Brazil, but all the same he had no excuse for writing of Bombay "with the towns and castles therein which are within a very little distance of Brazil."

There are few incidents in the history of the English overseas as miserable as that of the expedition sent out in 1662 to demand and receive the Island of Bombay. It consisted of a squadron of the Royal Navy, under the command of the third Earl of Marlborough, conveying Sir Abraham Shipman—an old Royalist soldier who had been commissioned by the King as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Bombay—and four newly raised companies of infantry. Regiments raised for the occupation of a Garrison abroad wore green facings and these troops, the Bombay Regiment of European Infantry, wore emerald green facings as late as 1759.

There also went with this expedition a fresh Portuguese Governor or Viceroy, Antonio de Mello de Castro. Marlborough's ships were unable to keep company and when he reached Bombay, in September, 1662, there was no sign of the ship which carried Sir Abraham Shipman who alone was commissioned to demand the transfer of the island. A prompt request that Bombay should be handed over to Sir Abraham Shipman's second in command was, quite reasonably, refused by de Mello de Castro ; but he had no justification whatever for subsequently refusing to hand it over to Sir Abraham himself, when that officer arrived. He quibbled about the credentials produced by Sir Abraham, and—doubtless to the satisfaction of the Portuguese in Bombay who objected to the cession of the Island—managed to bring the negotiations

to a standstill while at the same time writing complaints to London of the way he had been treated by Lord Marlborough and by the captain of the ship on which he had made the voyage. There was apparently no alternative to the course then adopted by Lord Marlborough who, since the use of force was out of the question, and since he "could not persuade the surrender of this paltry island," returned to England with the fleet. Sir Abraham Shipman and his troops—being refused permission to stay at Surat lest offence be given to the Mughal governor of that town—landed on the little island of Angediv, near Karwar, which the Portuguese had fortified but had abandoned soon after they were established in Goa.

The tragedy of Angediv is soon narrated. Disease and drink and idleness, in a treacherous climate to which the English were not accustomed and which they did not understand, wiped out the greater part of the little force. Shipman, writing from there in November, 1663, reported that "of the 400 and odd men that were brought out of the Downes of officers and soldiers, we have not left above 140"; and at times they had not "twenty men to stand to their armes to doe their dewtie". A few months later Shipman himself was dead, having a short time before received from King Charles a fresh commission in which he was styled "Knight of the Golden Ensign and Gentleman of our Privy Council". As he died before any definite step could be taken, the Supreme Court at Goa—to whom de Mello de Castro had made a reference on the subject—decided that Bombay should be handed over to one Humphrey Cooke, who had been secretary to Sir A. Shipman; and on 18th February, 1665, Cooke took possession and delivery of the Island after signing and executing the instrument of possession in the house of D. Ignez de Miranda, the lady of the Manor. There was no lack of ceremony on the occasion, for Cooke is described as "taking in his hand earth and stones, entering and walking upon its bastions, putting his hands to the walls thereof, and making all other like acts which in right were necessary without any impediment or contradiction." With him were one ensign and about one-fourth of the 400 men who had survived from Sir A. Shipman's force.

Once again the Portuguese had got the better of the English. The limits of the territory referred to in the Treaty had previously been a matter of keen dispute. Writing on September 5, 1663, Pepys says: "I did inform myself well in things relating to the East Indys; both of the country and the

disappointment the King met with the last voyage, by the knavery of the Portugall Viceroy, and the inconsiderableness of the place of Bombaim, if we had had it. But, above all things, it seems strange to me that matters should not be understood before they went out ; and also that such a thing as this, which was expected to be one of the best parts of the Queen's portion, should not be better understood ; it being, if we had it, but a poor place, and not really so as was described to our King in the draught of it, but a poor little island ; whereas they made the King and Lord Chancellor, and other learned men about the King, believe that that, and other islands which are near it, were all one piece ; and so the draught was drawn and presented to the King, and belived by the King and expected to prove so when our men came thither ; but it is quite otherwise."

The fact seems to have been that—according to a map originally received by King Charles but unfortunately lost soon afterwards—Salsette and Thana were included as part of Bombay ; and King Charles had, in 1661, instructed the English ambassador going to Lisbon to press that Bassein should be added to the territory to be ceded—" which we insisted on in our demand, and understood by the answer made to us that the ambassador had had power committed to him to have consented to the same". The demand for Bassein was not granted. There was no reason why it should be. But in July, 1663, the Portuguese ambassádor was informed that King Charles insisted on the cession of the whole of the territory " exhibited formerly to His Majesty in the map, containing not only Bombain, but Salzedo and Taan (Thana)". That had the effect of making the King of Portugal order the Viceroy of Goa to surrender Bombay. He was later to regret that action and was prepared to buy back the Island on the recommendation of the Viceroy who had said that Bombay was the best port they had in India, one " with which that of Lisbon is not to be compared". In the month before the cession was effected, the Viceroy of Goa had written to the King :—" I confess at the feet of your Majesty that only the obedience I owe your Majesty as a vassal could have forced me to this deed (*i.e.*, the cession of Bombay), because I foresee the great troubles that from this neighbourhood will result to the Portuguese and that India will be lost on the same day on which the English nation is settled in Bombay."

It may have been that consideration which led the Portuguese to drive as hard a bargain as they could when they

delivered the island to Humphrey Cooke. By that time it was no longer a question of whether Bombay included Salsette, still less whether it included Bassein. The Bombay that he managed to get consisted of little more than the one island on which the Fort was later to be built, for the Portuguese refused to deliver up Mahim and its "dependencies" of Mazagon, Parel, Worli, Sion, Dharavi and Vadala. In order further to harass the English, clauses were inserted in the convention (by which the transfer was made) to the effect that Portuguese boats should pass the island without paying any duty but that Bombay boats bringing merchandize and foodstuffs from the mainland should pay a duty of 10 to 12 per cent. The inhabitants of Bombay were to preserve their rights of property, and were not to be required to pay more than the quit rents exacted under the Portuguese. In these and other ways the convention laid down how the administration of the Island should be conducted by the British. That was manifestly absurd, and twelve years later Charles II denounced "that very unjust capitulation which Humphrey Cooke was forced to submit to" and protested "against the said capitulation as prejudicial to our Royal dignity, derogatory to our right." The fact remains that but for Cooke there would probably have been still further delay and haggling about the transfer of the island, and that, having acted on the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread, he very speedily set about the business of getting the other half as well. He not only acquired Mahim and its "dependencies" but had his action upheld by a commission that was appointed to decide between the British and Portuguese claims, so that by the time his successor was appointed Bombay—as a possession of King Charles II—included all the seven islands of which it is now composed with the exception of Colaba and Old Woman's Island.

For the Portuguese in India of course this was a bad business. De Mello de Castro, in a letter to the King of Portugal, early in 1666, lamented loudly. "During the last monsoon," he wrote, "I informed your Majesty that I had handed over Bombay. Now I will relate to your Majesty what the English have done and are doing every day in the way of excesses. The first act of Mr. Humphrey Cooke, who is the Governor of that island and whom I knew in Lisbon as a grocer, was to take possession of the island of Mahim in spite of my protests, the island being some distance from the island

of Bombay, as your Majesty will see from the map I send herewith. He argues that at low tide one can walk from one end to the other, and if this is conceded your Majesty will be unable to defend the right to the other northern islands, as at low tide it is possible to go from Bombay to Salsette, from Salsette to Varagao (Baragaon), so that in order not to lose the north, it will be necessary to defend Mahim. He has done more. He has obliged the Roman Catholics to take an oath, by which they openly deny the jurisdiction of the Supreme Pontiff and Head of the Church. The inhabitants of the north would have taken up arms and driven out the English from thence, if I had not had my suspicions and prevented them, by assuring them that your Majesty was actually in treaty about the purchase of Bombay. And although the name of Humphrey Cooke appears in all these matters, an awful heretic named Henry Gary, a great enemy of the Portuguese nation, is the author of all these things. I believe, however, that before your Majesty remedies this, the Dutch will drive those people thence, as I am told they are preparing a large armada to besiege Bombay."

While he thus irritated the Portuguese, Cooke also fell foul of the Mogul Government and the factors at Surat. The former strongly objected to his overtures to Indian merchants, were afraid of his manifest attempts to strengthen Bombay, and found a ready cause of offence in his unauthorised seizure of one of their ships; while the latter could not tolerate his rough and ready style of correspondence and were alarmed at the accounts of his personal behaviour which reached them from Bombay. "Humphrey Cooke," they wrote to the Court of Directors on the 1st January, 1666, "gives us continual troubles in his daily importunities for money, to raise soldiers, forts and we know not what other bold designs, that we have been very weary with answering his letters, and upon our just denial of his unreasonable demands we have received such indignities and opprobrious terms to the great prejudice and dishonour of the Honorable Company and ourselves that we want both words and leisure at present to express them and him in his right colours."

Whether Cooke had been a grocer in Lisbon does not matter much. He was evidently no administrator, though he had that acquisitive habit which has distinguished many of his countrymen who made what used to be called the Empire; and he was the first of the subjects of Charles II to

aim at fulfilling the royal will that Bombay should become "the flourishingest port in India." If he had not taken bribes and "obstructed His Majesty's title to most of the best estates in the island" he would have left a better name. He left a valuable description of the Island in which he wrote that "it is a very pleasant place and a good ayre" but it "yieldeth at present nothing but a greate quantity of Coco Nutts and Rice with other necessary provissions." He found that in the Island there was "neither Government nor Justice," and the Jesuits sorely tried him striving "to make us odious to the people." He was superseded at the end of 1666 by Sir Gervase Lucas, who died in the following year, and Cooke (who had by then found that "the ayre of this country doeth not agree with mee") then escaped from the prison in which he had been confined on a charge of fraud and embezzlement, fled to Goa and, with the Jesuits whom he had previously denounced, entered into a plot to attack Bombay. The Jesuits had by then a fresh reason for opposing the English in Bombay. During his short governorship Sir G. Lucas—in a way that now seems very arbitrary—had confiscated, on a charge of treason, a large tract of land in Bombay to which the Jesuits' College at Bandra laid claim. The attempt at retaliation for this failed and Cooke—who according to one picturesque account, "killed himself from mere vexation of spirit in his self-exile among the cowed brethren of the Order of Jesus"—died (by a fall from his horse) in the convent of the Capuchin fathers at Diarbekr on his way to Aleppo.

Disputes with the Portuguese continued and Henry Gary, who had succeeded Sir G. Lucas, was not the man to end them. One of his contemporaries described Gary as "a Person of a Mercurial Brain, a better merchant than soldier": in recent years it has been well said of him that "in the Five Towns he would certainly have been a 'Card'." He had a reputation as a linguist; he was a most amusing letter-writer—but full of "unadvised vaine glorious boastings," in the opinion of Sir George Oxinden, the President of Surat; even to the governing body of the East India Company he became at last "Old Gary"—almost a licensed buffoon, certainly not a man to be taken very seriously, though likeable enough. After his own quaint fashion he was a worker. He enrolled some Deccani soldiers "in consequence of Dutch alarms," made progress with the fortifications, and increased the revenues of the Island and thought a further increase possible, provided that "those caterpillars the Jessuits bee not readmitted." The

Portuguese on the other hand described him as "very astute and an enemy of the Portuguese nation." The quarrel with them was largely over port-dues. But Gary was not only unable to improve the conditions of trading, he alienated the council at Surat by granting passes in the King's name to native vessels, a proceeding which the Company's agents considered an infringement of their prerogatives. This system of independent granting of navigating passes, the private trading in which the Crown representatives in Bombay indulged or hoped to indulge, and the hostilities which the latter provoked with the Mughal government, and for which the East India Company were held responsible, caused continuous friction between the factors at Surat and the King's agents in Bombay and in the end led to the transfer of Bombay to the Company.

The ingenious Gary must undoubtedly have had a hand in composing a petition to Charles II from the inhabitants of Bombay denouncing the Portuguese and extolling Gary, under whom "wee have found very great tranquillity.... And that which wee have most reason to celebrate this present Governour for, is, the expedient administration of justice; his continual assisting us with dispatches, the brevity which he uses in concluding our pleas, and his patience in heareing even the least of them; his kindnesse in voiding our expences; so just, disinterested, pious and pacifique; that wee beseech God to affoord us still the like Government; And, because we have notice given us by what the said exorbitants (Portuguese) publish, that they with great summes of money, and by intercession of the King of Portugall endeavour to reduce this Island to his Obedience (as formerly) and Confident hereupon, they thunder out their menaces; that they will have satisfaction for the obedience that wee have to this houre duly paid to your Majesty; Hereof wee doe not in the least doubt; but that they would Tyrannise over us, and shew us Hell in this World, from which Good Lord etca. Wherefore, wee humbly beseech your Majesty for the love of God and for the wounds of Jesus Christ, to take pity and compassion of us by not consenting to alienate us from your Government, and the Obedience thereof upon any Consideration or agreement whatsoever...."

That appeal did not contemplate the transfer of Bombay to the Company, yet such a transaction must surely have been talked of as probable both in Bombay and Surat. The directors of the Company had certainly for some time

considered the possibilities of acquiring Bombay and turning it into a fortified settlement and their headquarters in Western India. They had as yet got nothing of the kind. At Surat they had their "factory" planted, by permission of the Mughal Government, under the Governor of the city. But, like the French and the Dutch, they did not own any territory in Western India; whereas the Portuguese had seized and fortified various places along the coast. The two systems had been radically different, the English being traders and the Portuguese colonists.

The first definite move towards the transfer seems to have come, somewhat unexpectedly, from Lord Clarendon who by 1667 had doubtless discovered that Bombay was nowhere near Brazil. It is probable also that he thought Bombay, like Dunkirk which Charles had sold to Louis XIV for £200,000 in 1662, would in time of peace "put the King to a great charge and in time of war it would not quit the cost of keeping it." There was too the case of Tangier to be remembered. That place, which was to be the base of English power in the Mediterranean, had been abandoned to the Moors in 1663 because the King could not afford to defend it and would not appeal to Parliament for the necessary funds. All this would naturally prompt the King and his advisers to be rid of Bombay, and, after negotiations—during which the Company were told that "there were some, both foreigners and others, desirous to have it"—the bargain was struck. Charles II, rather more hard up than usual, must have been glad to be rid of a place which had been the cause of much trouble and expense, certainly glad to get a loan of £50,000 at 6 per cent. in return for the transfer.

The instrument of transfer is contained in Letters Patent, dated 27 March, 1668, by which King Charles II declared the East India Company "the true and absolute Lords and Proprietors of the Port and Island"; the Company, "their successors and assigns for evermore to be holden of us, our heirs and successors, as of the Manor of East Greenwich, in the County of Kent, in free and common soccage, and not in capite, nor by Knight's service" at the yearly rental of £10, payable to the Crown. The inhabitants were to enjoy the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion; the Company were to make laws and see them enforced; persons born in the Island were to be reckoned natural subjects of Great Britain; the powers granted by this charter were to apply

to any other territory in the East Indies which the Company might acquire. Such were some of the provisions of this remarkable charter which, in the opinion of a great lawyer, marked the transition of the Company from a trading association to a territorial sovereign invested with powers of civil and military government.

CHAPTER III.—GERALD AUNGIER AND HIS WORK.

“ The name of Mr. Aungier is much revered by the ancient people of Surat and Bombay to this day. His justice and dexterity in managing affairs, got him such esteem, that the natives of those places made him the common arbitrator of their differences in point of traffick : nor was it ever known that any party receded from his award.”
—*New Account of the East Indies*, 1739. By Alexander Hamilton.

IT has been necessary in the previous chapters to consider why and how Bombay passed through a succession of changes in ownership. Its transfer to the East India Company marked the beginning of a comparatively settled era—at any rate so far as ownership is concerned—and from that date the interest of its history is to be found in domestic affairs, in the development and growth of the Island, and in the men who planned and directed that growth, rather than in the place it chanced to occupy in international politics. But it was by no means clear of that seething whirlpool of politics ; and the dramatic rise of the Maratha power under Sivaji furnished yet another factor that was to influence its destiny.

Sir George Oxinden, as President of Surat, became the first Governor of Bombay under the Company, the transfer of the Island to Commissioners sent from Surat taking place in September, 1668. The revenue of the Island was at that time estimated at 34,000 *pardaos*, or about £2,833 per annum, and the Company in London had high hopes of increasing it. Bombay, they hoped, would become a port “ for the exportation and importation of goods and persons to and from Persia, Mokha and other parts ” ; it was to be a centre of ship-building ; trained bands or militia were to be raised ; and the Company promised “ to try and procure the civillest English women and send them unto you, that we may have a colony of English in time to continue on the Island.” Nor was that colony to be idle in its spare time, the Company would find work for its idle hands—why not pig and poultry farming ? “ As for giving the Englishmen encouragement to earn a peny by setting and planting and

breeding of hogs and ducks," wrote the Commissioners from Bombay in reply to that bright idea, "it is a work of time. . . . hogs and ducks have been looked upon as the annoyance of this island in the time of corn, being wont to break down and through the best fences that the husbandry of this island affords so that (as we are informed) proclamations have been issued out for their destroying as often as they are found upon the corn."

The Company, however, did not content themselves with giving advice: they sent out soldiers and artificers, and a chaplain and assistant, who was to be "Master of a free school" on the Island; and they ordered the construction of a warehouse, custom house and quay. They also sent English women and instructions as to their maintenance. "And for such Single women or maides as shall now come unto you we order that if they desire it and do not otherwise dispose of themselves by marriage to Englishmen that then for one year after their arrival they shall have victuals at our charge with one suit of wearing apparel, such as shall be convenient according to the fashion of the country, during which time they are to be employed in our service as you shall order and think fit, but not to be employed in planting; and we do not consent that the said English women or maides be permitted to marry any other people but those of our own Nation or such others as are Protestants."

Oxinden died in July, 1669, and was succeeded, as President of Surat and Governor of Bombay, by Gerald Aungier, a man of great wisdom and foresight who is justly remembered as the real founder of Bombay. Modern historians have marvelled at what Aungier did for Bombay, and, without taking the trouble to find out who he was and from what stock he came, have repeated the eulogies passed on him by old writers. Yet, if there is anything in the theory of heredity, Aungier may have been expected to show great qualities. In an unpublished history of the Aungier family it is shown that he could trace his descent from the Counts of Anjou in the tenth and eleventh centuries. One of his ancestors who had settled in England was a judge of great eminence, holding the offices of Chief Justice of the King's Bench and of the Common Pleas, early in the fourteenth century. Another member of this family—in which there has to this day been a persistent legal strain—became a judge in Ireland, and, for his work in the colonisation of Ulster and Leinster, was awarded large

grants of land in County Longford and created Baron Aungier of Longford. Gerald Aungier, Governor of Bombay, was a brother of the third Lord Aungier, who, in 1675, was created Viscount Longford with a special remainder, failing heirs male of his body, to his brothers Gerald and Ambrose. Two years later Viscount Longford was created Earl of Longford with a like special remainder, and he died in 1700, after holding the appointments of Keeper of the Great Seal and Master of the Ordnance. Gerald Aungier had predeceased him, and the Earldom devolved on his brother who died unmarried and with whom all his honours expired.

This brief incursion into his family history helps to an understanding of how Gerald Aungier, though not a lawyer by training, was able to show great legal and administrative qualities in the exercise of his office. He was born about 1635, was elected a factor in the East India Company in 1661, and in the following year was in the expedition to Bombay under Lord Marlborough. His first visit to Bombay as Governor was for a few days only in 1670, partly to investigate charges that had been made against Captain Young, the Deputy Governor, and partly, it is probable, to see the possibilities of the place for himself. On that occasion he promulgated the Company's regulations for the civil and military administration of the Island "giving the people a taste of the Company's justice by the trial of several cases to their great satisfaction." Early in the following year Aungier and his Council at Surat wrote to the Court of Directors, offering their advice "that it seems now consistent with your interest to settle your chief government on your island of Bombay...As to Bombay, we judge it will be an assured way to confirm your interest and increase the trade more speedily, for all strangers will be the sooner invited to live with us; and the English freemen at Bantam (in Java where an English factory existed 1603-82) and Masulipatam will be the better persuaded to settle there with their families and estates." In June, 1672, he was back in Bombay and ready to start the work for which he has become famous. Before that date he had sent to the Court of Directors "certain rude proposals" for the future government of Bombay, and would have gone to Bombay to put those proposals into practice but for the danger to which the factory at Surat was exposed by the depredations of Sivaji.

The rise of Sivaji to power, as the leader of the Marathas, was one of the most significant events in India in the latter

part of the seventeenth century—fully as significant as the disintegration of the great Mogul empire that had been built up by Aurungzebe—and one that naturally affected the fortunes of Bombay. As will be seen later, Bombay was particularly affected by Sivaji when the warfare between the Moguls and Marathas was no longer confined to the land but was extended to the sea. As Fryer observed of the Portuguese, Sivaji and the Mogul, “Offices of Civility must be performed to each of these ; but they sometimes interfering are the occasion of Jealousies, these three being so diametrically opposite one to another.” Complications were inevitable when the Sidi of Janjira—the Mogul’s Admiral—claimed the right to use Bombay harbour and when the claim could not be resisted by the English for fear of offending Aurungzebe, who by 1681 had moved down to the Deccan to carry on this war. Ten years or so before that date Sivaji’s territory stretched along the Konkan from Goa to Kalyan, and his enterprise and the extraordinary mobility of his troops made him the terror of a far wider tract of country. Sivaji twice looted Surat—but not the British factory there—in 1664 and again in 1670. Before the latter occasion the Governor of Surat asked Aungier to defer his departure which would not be “well taken by the Mogul king”; and, as it turned out, this raid by Sivaji indirectly proved to be of advantage to the English, “for the care which wee tooke of the Banians, Cuttarees and Armenians and allsoe Moore Merchants which fled to us for protection hath for ever obliged them, the misery and danger they suffer in Surratt doth make them consider of changing their aboad and Bombay is the onely place whither they think of retiring.”

In what way Aungier strengthened the fortifications of Bombay is shown in another chapter, in which the history of the Fort is summarised, but his reasons for that work may be emphasised here in considering his policy. He aimed first of course at making the place safe against attack. There was a further reason which he explained in writing to the Company about the need for more men: “The greater force you maintaine on the island for its defence, the more encouragements will you give to merchants of all nations and conditions to entrust their estates and families and ships there ; for though good laws, administration of justice, and a convenient freedome in matters of religion are motives of great weight to invite inhabitants from all parts to dwell among us, yet unless there be also a

sufficient security from forreigne danger, they will always labour under fears and jealousies, especially since we are surrounded with neighbours such as we may always esteeme suspected friends or potent enemies."

This policy of colonisation, aiming at making Bombay a fit and safe place for anyone to live in, was further encouraged in various other ways. Security was most of all obtained by the signing of a Convention between the *povo*, or estate-holders, and the Governor and Council "to put a final end to all claims, pretences and law-suits whatever which have arisen or may arise" between the Company and the people about the ownership of land in the Island. The Convention was of great importance not only because it secured the inhabitants in their possessions but—as Warden, the chief authority on the land tenures of Bombay has emphasised—because to this day all who hold property subject to the payment of what is called "pension," possess it by a tenure of which the Government cannot deprive them, unless the land is required for building "cities, towns or fortifications" when reasonable satisfaction is to be made to the proprietors. The Convention moreover involved the acquisition of Colaba by the Company, which held that it would be of great use "in the good design which they have for the security and defence of this whole isle."

One of Aungier's finest achievements in Bombay was the institution of Courts of Judicature. As Alexander Hamilton wrote, in his "New Account of the East Indies," Aungier "brought the Face of Justice to be unveiled, which before lay hid in a single Person's Breast, who distributed her Favours according to the Governor's Direction." The interpretation of that poetical tribute is that in his first brief visit to Bombay, in 1670, Aungier was only able to arrange for two Courts of Justices of the Peace to deal with petty cases, and he committed the main administration of justice to the Deputy Governor in Council. The procedure continued to follow the old Portuguese forms and customs. In 1671 the Company sent out some factors who had had some legal experience, though in subordinate capacities; and this gave Aungier the opportunity of putting things on a better basis. In August 1672, some two months after his arrival on his second visit to Bombay, a regular "Court of Judicature" was established and the English laws were formally proclaimed in supersession of the Portuguese. Unfortunately no copy has survived of the "Laws and Constitutions," which the Company enacted for Bombay under

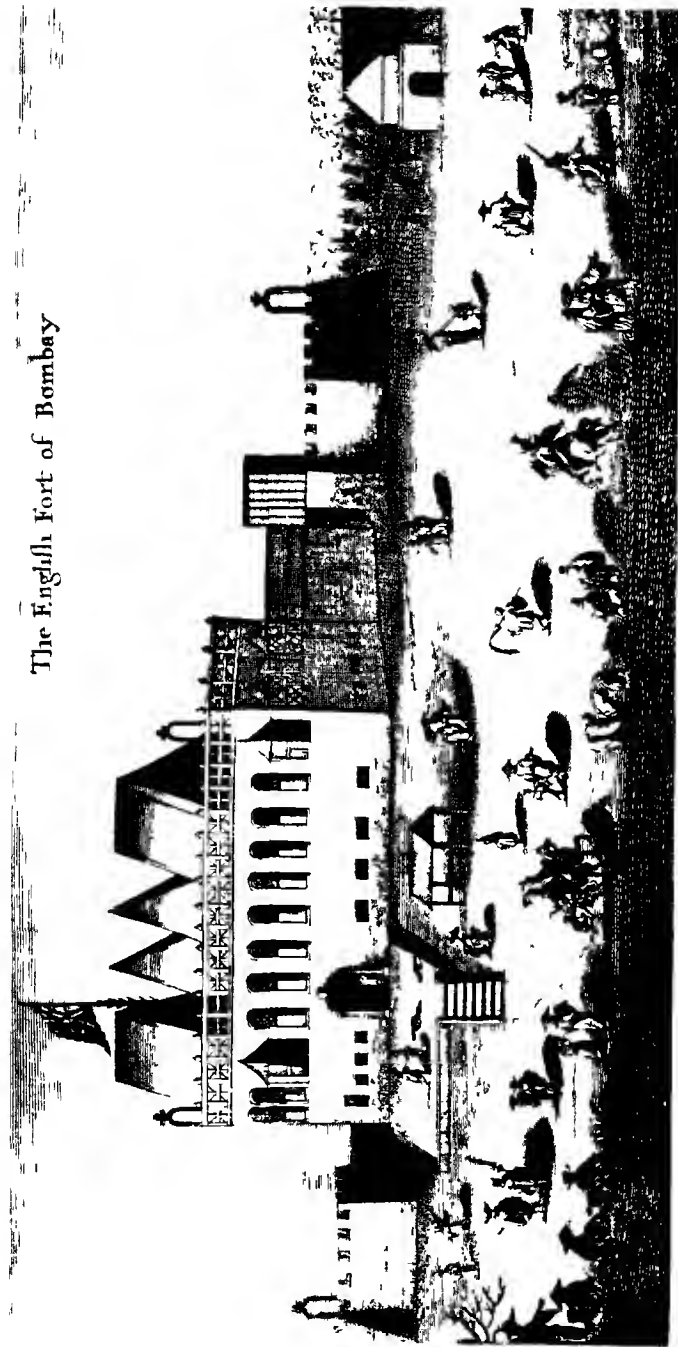
the powers conferred on it by King Charles II in his Charter of 1668. But Court Minutes and Correspondence show that these were engrossed under the Great Seal of the Company and they were received and published in Bombay in 1670.

The first full-time judge was one George Willcox who drew up the proposals for the working of the Court and started it on lines of impartial justice in accordance with the desire of the Company and of Gerald Aungier, whose speech at the opening of the Court on 8th August 1672, concluded with the following admirable exhortation to the Judge:—

“ The Inhabitants of this Island consist of several nations and religions, to wit—English Moores, Portuguese and other Christians and Jentues but you when you sit in this seat of justice and judgment must look upon them all with one single eye as I doe without distinction of Nation or Religion for they are all his Majestie's and the Hon'ble Company's Subjects as the English are and have all an equal title and right to Justice, and you must doe them all justice even the meaneest person of the Island, and in particular the Poore, the Orphan, the Widdow and the Stranger, in all matters of controversy of common right, and Meum and Tuum ; and this not only one against the other, but even against myself and those who are in office under me, nay against the Hon'ble Company themselves, when Law, Reason and Equity shall require you to doe, for this is your Duty and therein will you be justified, and in soe doing God will be with you to strengthen you, his Majestie, and the Company will commend and reward you, and I, in my place, shall be ready to assist, countenance, honour and protect you to the utmost of the power and authority entrusted to me. And soe I pray God give his blessing to you.”

Not only did Aungier establish a Court of Judicature but he built a Court-house. In 1671 he decided that “ a fair common house, wherein might be appointed chambers for the courts of justice, warehouses and granaries for corn and ammunition, and prisons for several offenders ” should be built. The scheme was in the end confined to a court-house, which was opened in 1676. It was badly battered during the invasion of Bombay by the Sidi and had largely to be rebuilt ; parts of it still survive in the “ Mapla Por ” in Gunbow Lane, though that ancient and seldom visited monument is now marked for destruction in a municipal improvement scheme.

The English Fort of Bombay



View of the Fort from the sea, with a description of the most celebrated Fort of India, the Fort of Bombay, and the Fort of Amsterdam, 1672, by Philip

A few years later an Admiralty Court was established in Bombay, under King James' Charter of 1683, to check the activities of "Interlopers" who evaded the monopoly of the Company's trade. The first judge of this Court, Dr. St. John, was dismissed in 1687, and the Company was indisposed to have any more trained Judges, with a direct commission from the King, as they considered "the wind of extraordinary honour" got to their heads. Sir John Wyborne, who had assumed office as Deputy-Governor and Vice-Admiral of Bombay in 1686, succeeded St. John as Judge of the Admiralty Court. He was, however, dismissed in 1688. The Admiralty Court was then merged in the Court of Judicature, and John Vaux (a member of the Bombay Council who had previously been appointed Chief Justice of the Court established in 1672) presided over them till February 1690. The Sidi's invasion of Bombay and heavy mortality had reduced the place to a very low ebb, and it was found impossible to re-establish the Court. The Governor and Council in effect remained the sole judiciary until, under pressure from the Company, the Court of Judicature was again established by Governor Boone in 1718. Separate Admiralty Courts, therefore, did not gain a footing in India as they did in the American colonies.

The extent to which Aungier's design of inducing settlers to come to Bombay from the mainland was implemented by these and other measures to ensure their safety and contentment may be judged by the fact that in 1675 it was estimated that the population of Bombay numbered 60,000, which was "more by 50,000 than the Portuguese ever had."* The early Koli population of Bombay is said to have been increased by immigration, under Hindu rule in the thirteenth century, of the Palshikar Brahmans, the Pathare Prabhus, the Panchkalshis, the Vadvals or Malis, the Thakurs, the Bhois and Agris. The Bhandaris are thought to have arrived at an earlier date. Under Mahomedan rule, and later under the Portuguese, many Konkani Muhammadans came to Bombay and "following at first the profession of shipmasters or *nakhodas* and sailors, the community gradually increased in numbers and importance, turned its attention to commerce and rapidly became the most influential Muhammedan sect in Bombay." The Portuguese, intent on obtaining converts, drove many of these migrants back to the mainland, with the result

*It was about this time that Aungier fell into disfavour in London. "They all say," it was written, "that hee is making up his Bundell."

that by 1661 the population is supposed to have been no more than 10,000. "It was composed," writes S. M. Edwardes in the Gazetteer, "of a few Portuguese of pure blood, like Dona Ignez de Miranda, the Lady of the Manor of Bombay ; of the Topazes or Indo-Portuguese, a people of mixed European and Asiatic parentage, whom Dr. DaCunha described as "the hybrid product of the union of Portuguese with native women of low-class, possessing the good qualities of neither ; and of Native Christians, resident chiefly in Cavel, Mazagon and Parel. In Parel and Sion resided "the Columbeens (Kunbis) who manure the soil " and "the Frasses (Dheds) or porters also ; each of which tribes have a mandadore or superintendent, who gives an account of them to the English, and being born in the same degree of slavery are generally more tyrannical than a stranger would be towards them " ; while many unconverted Kolis and Bhandaris lived in Bombay proper, Mazagon, Parel and Varli. There were probably several Mussalmans at Mahim, and a few Prabhus and Brahmans, who acted as clerks and interpreters. One or two Parsis also may have been resident in Bombay in 1661, though their number did not appreciably increase till after 1670, when a gradual immigration of Banias from Surat, of Armenians and of Brahmans from Salsette helped to swell the number of the population by 1675 to 60,000."

CHAPTER IV.—DEFENCE.

" And in praying, we of this place ought more especially to pray for those that are at sea ; that God would secure to us our trade and shipping ; and that they may pass these parts with greater security upon their lawful occasions, that he would vouchsafe to prosper the arms of his servants, and the fleet in which they sail with success and victory ; that he would protect and save them with his almighty presence, that they may return in safety to their desired port, to declare the wonders which God hath done and to rejoyce in him in whom they trust."—*From the bidding prayer used by the Rev. Richard Cobbe at the service in St. Thomas' Church, Bombay, Christmas Day, 1718.*

THE need for fortifying Bombay was apparent from the day the English landed on the Island. Humphrey Cooke's first care was to make his position safe against attack ; but he got very little encouragement in that enterprise from the President of Council at Surat who, with rather more confidence in his Sovereign's readiness to disburse money than was customary, pointed out that if the King had intended that the place should be fortified he would doubtless have sent out the requisite funds. The outbreak of war with the Dutch in 1665 made it all the more necessary that Bombay must be prepared against attack, and Cooke built near the Great House " a large platforme 51 yards long, wherein cann play 18 peeces of large ordinance. It hath cost His Majesty monyes, but is the best piece in India and secures all the roade. It's made as strong as lime and stone cann make it, and no question will last for many hundered yeares ". He also put up a wall to landward of "turfie and cocernutt trees" on which he made " all the islanders to worke by turnes without pay, only something to drinke ". Gary continued, and added to, the fortifications ; but it was years before they amounted to much value.

When it was suggested, in 1669, that the Council should transfer themselves from Surat to Bombay, the Company was told :—" Had you force and means sufficient of men, money, ammunitiion and shipping to maintaine a war with any of your neighbours, we want not courage to hazard the last drop of blood in your service, whenever you shall order

us to begin ; but considering the present weake and naked posture of your island, we judge it but a necessary prudence to sow the foxe's taylor to the lion's skin, and on this score we give it you as our humble advice that you doe not think of withdrawing your Presidency from Surat till your island Bombay is thoroughly fortified ; and then the sooner the better." In the same year Oxinden received orders from London that the existing fortifications were to be enlarged and strengthened sufficiently " to resist a potent enemy by sea and land " : if a better site was necessary he was to send " a module or forme of a new fortification." Ordnance and ammunition were sent out, but the weapons, especially the muskets, were reported to be unfit for use ; and an order was sent that none but His Majesty's Protestant subjects should bear arms in the fort, though the people of the island were to be " reduced into companies " to keep watch outside and, when necessary, to help in the defence of the place.

Fryer, in his account of Bombay, credits Philip Gyfford with having carried out the Court's orders to strengthen the fortifications, and he describes how " the Bowers dedicated to Rest and Ease are turned into bold Rampires for the watchful Centinel to look out on." More valuable as history is Fryer's account of the attempted attack by the Dutch fleet, under van Goen, on 20th February, 1673. " The Dutch attempting to surprize the Islanders, found them and the Fort in so good a condition that they were glad to betake themselves to their Boats without any Booty, and the next day hoisted Sails (for, said they, Bombaim been as stark as de Deel) and not without good reason ; for within the Fort were mounted 100 Pieces of Ordnance and in other convenient Stands 20 more, besides 60 Field-pieces. . . . Moreover in the Road were riding three Men of War, the best of 30 Guns." Aungier, who has been described as having acted on that famous occasion " with the calmness of a philosopher and the courage of a centurion," certainly needed those qualities. The arrival of the Dutch fleet had caused a stampede. " The Island," he wrote, " was left quite naked, and of neer 4,000 Christians which were numbered on this Island there remayned few more than 200, and those miserable followers kept against their will." The conclusion of peace with the Dutch a year later greatly relieved the English in Western India of further apprehension of attack.

But one never could tell what enemies might not appear. There was a flutter of excitement, for example, in 1687, when

a Danish fleet appeared off the Thana coast after sinking "four eminent ships of the merchants belonging to Surat." The Bombay Council wrote to the Danish commander asking him to go away and he seems to have taken the hint. "We desire you," wrote the Council, "as you are our friends by reason of the near alliance of the two crowns of England and Denmark that you would not cruize too near our island, it being a great hindrance to our trade, our merchants being fearful of going to sea whilst you lie so near."

Aungier has much to say about the fort in his report to the Company in 1673. "Now we have greater apprehension of danger from an Europe enemy," he wrote, "then from any of our Indian neighbours. As to the latter we resolve never to quarrel with them, but rather to endeavour an universall peace with all the princes of India, for soe your policy and interest requires for the better carrying on of your Trade; and though many times by meanes of violent seizures, confiscations, plunderings and depredations of your Estate, and unjust obstruction of your laudable commerce, we may have occasion of controversy with some of our neighbours, yet we hold it greater prudence to accommode such differences peaceably if possible rather than to fall into an open warr or hostility; and as to an Europe enemy we will endeavour to strengthen ourselves the best we can and trust that God's good providence will protect us and that you will please in your great wisdom to supply us with men and arms, sufficient to oppose them.

"The Castle of Bombay when finished will be of great strength and security to the Towne and to the whole Island. It lies upon a neck of land conveniently laid between two Bays; it is a quadrangular fort, whereof three points command the port, and the two small Bays; the fourth with two of the others commands the Towne, and the plaine before the Castle. It is of a small circumference and irregularly built, through the ignorance of the Engineers who drew the line and laid the foundation at first, the longest curtaine to landward being not above 58 paces, but it is very strong and being small will require fewer men to maintaine it. The wall in height to landward is 27 feet, in breadth 25 feet, consisting of an outward and inward wall of stone and a terepheene of earth; the two curtaines or platforms to seaward are in height about 20 feet, in breadth 42 feet, on which may be mounted about 36 pieces of ordnance, besides those on Bastions. Three Bastions are already finished, sufficiently strong and capacious, on which

are mounted 50 pieces of ordnance, in compleat and well made carriages besides those on the platformes ; the other Bastion to seaward will not be finished till next yeare for want of materials, soe that when the Fort is compleated there will be 40 gunns ready mounted thereon."

Aungier criticised the Engineers who had drawn the first line of the Fort for not taking in "the faire and large tanke or spring of fresh water", also for not constructing a moat. He went on to relate the various works being undertaken to strengthen the Fort. Details of those and later works are narrated, for the benefit of those who are curious in such matters, in the Bombay Gazetteer. To put the matter briefly, the original Fort or Castle which Aungier described was within a few years found to be inadequate to the purpose for which it had been built. Fragments of it remain to this day ; and it is from Bombay Castle that Government Gazettes and similar publications are still technically issued. As the town gradually grew round the Castle, a Town Wall was found to be necessary, and in 1710 the Court allowed a special tax to be levied for the purpose of paying for it. The Court noted "that these contributions will in about 14 years reimburse our charge and the buildings will want no repairs in many years. We recite these things to keep them in your and our own minds that we may yearly hear from you what is received thereupon...." Not for the first or last time the Company then found its expectations falsified.

The history of the Fort almost from its inception to the nineteenth century discloses constant anxiety on the part of the Company on the ground of expense and, on the part of the Company's servants in Bombay, apprehension of attack. In 1676, for example, fear of an attack by the Portuguese led to the construction of a breastwork at Mahim. There had been trouble over a Malabar ship, with an English pass, which had run into Bombay harbour to escape a Portuguese ship that was giving her chase. The English in Bombay refused to give up the fugitive as a prize ; and the Captain General of the North summoned a force of 1500, came with them to Bandra, and declared his resolve to take Mahim and burn Bombay. John Pettit, who later became Deputy Governor, with Judge Niccolls and the rest of the Council and garrison company strengthened by militia and field-pieces marched to Mahim and frightened the fiery Portuguese away. After "haughty and bloody speeches" the Captain General and

his Fidalgoes retired full of "rancor and contempt." Three years later it was "the native powers" who were the main danger: the growth of that danger had in fact been visible before then.

The Sidis of Janjira were admirals of the Nizamshahi fleet in the days of Malik Ambar and owed a nominal allegiance to Bijapur from 1636 to 1670, when, to avoid absorption by Sivaji, they entered the Mughal service. In 1672, under Sidi Yakut, they entered Bombay harbour with the object of ravaging Shivaji's Kurlahs—the lands and villages of Panvel, Pen and Alibag. From that time onwards to 1690 the Sidis were a perpetual nuisance and menace to Bombay. Sidi Yakut tried to get Aungier to join him in a war against Sivaji, but Aungier declined the offer on the ground that to accept it would involve the stoppage of all supplies to Bombay. Thereafter the Sidi's men on more than one occasion behaved "with insolence characteristic of Moors in the Moghal's service." They burnt houses in Mazagon; and in 1674, were repulsed by force from Sion where they had landed and from Mazagon. Year after year they came to Bombay for the monsoon months and proved a terror to the Indian inhabitants of the island. The fortifying of Kanheri island by Sivaji and of Henery island by the Sidi increased the rivalry and anxiety regarding Bombay harbour. By 1680 matters had come to such a pass that the Sidis treated the people of Mazagon as their subjects, sold captives in the market there, and celebrated a successful attack on Kanheri by setting up 80 Maratha heads on poles along the Mazagon shore. John Child, Deputy Governor of Bombay, was powerless to prevent these outrages and when later he became president it was his powerful namesake in London, Josia Child, who dictated his policy.

The early policy of the British in India had been that it was "an error to affect garrison and land wars in India." Josia Child gradually came to see that such an attitude could not be maintained and that Aungier's was the only policy to follow. The loss of Bantam, in Java, and other troubles seem to have converted Josia Child and his uninstructed enthusiasm quickly led him into war with Aurungzebe. One of the immediate results of that rupture was the invasion of Bombay by the Sidi, an act which is said to have been ordered by the Emperor as a reprisal for attacks on his ships by the Company.

The facts of this episode, the greatest danger to which Bombay has ever been exposed, have been unaccountably

forgotten or misrepresented. For example, in a record of the services of the first Regiment of Bombay European Infantry Fusiliers published, with the approval of Government, in General Orders in 1844 it is noted under the date 1689: "Several descents made by the Seedies on the Island of Bombay, successfully repulsed by the Bombay European Infantry." There could scarcely be a more misleading way of describing the facts that the Sidi occupied the greater part of Bombay for 16 months and nearly captured the Fort, and that the garrison had been reduced by pestilence, desertion and death to 35 English by the time the Sidi withdrew from Bombay. He landed at Sewri on February 15, 1689, with "125 boates of men, ammunition, provision and all things fitt for warr imputed to be about 6000 men." After slight skirmishes over several days he set up a battery on Dongri hill from which it was found impossible to dislodge him.

A detailed diary of the events that followed is preserved in M.S. in the India Office, and shows that from the beginning of this "war" to its conclusion on June 22, 1690, when the Sidi withdrew by agreement from the Island, the defending force lost 104 killed and 116 English and Portuguese by desertion—the latter figures not including the Militia of whom most "run to the other side in boates." The actual strength of the garrison cannot be calculated because it was from time to time strengthened, even though temporarily, by men from ships which arrived in harbour. That the casualties were not heavier was partly due to the fact that the Sidi's ammunition was defective: for some months his guns generally fired solid stones, which did not do much damage, and in some cases stones which had been, "cutt hollow and filled up with brimstone and powder." Yet the siege was pressed with vigour and enterprise by a force infinitely superior in numbers and resources, and there was one night attack in particular—"the enemy being provided with ladders, fire potts and bottles full of powder"—that came near to success. One detail of historical importance must be added. A Parsi named Rustom Dorabji is said to have led a body of Kolis against the Sidi, and for that good work the Company appointed him Patel of Bombay and a *sanad* was issued conferring the title upon him and his heirs in perpetuity. As he died at the age of 93 in 1763 he was under 20 at the time of that exploit.



A View of the Gate of BOMRAY-CASTLE, 1810.

From a water colour drawing by Private Temple in the library of the India Office

It was during the siege that Sir John Child died and was buried on Colaba Island (his tomb subsequently became a recognised mark for mariners) "the long boates and pinnaces well manned attending him ashore where they fired 3 volleys." Before then he had recognised the impossibility of getting rid of the invader by force and had sent envoys to Aurungzebe to sue for peace. Their object was aided by various circumstances such as the jealousy of the Mogul General, the representations of Indian merchants in Bombay, and the secret influence of the Portuguese who saw that they might lose Salsette if the Sidi—whom they had aided when he first landed—should hold Bombay. Accordingly Aurungzebe issued a new firman to the Company which agreed to the withdrawal of the Sidi on condition that money owing to his subjects should be paid, that recompense of a lakh and a half of rupees should be paid for the Mogul losses, and that Child "who did the disgrace, be turned out and expelled." Had that ignominious arrangement not been made the Sidi must have taken Bombay. When he left the island, according to Hamilton, "he left behind him a pestilence* which in four months' time destroyed more men than the war had done, and for joy made a malicious bonfire of his headquarters, Mazagon fort."

After the Sidi had shown that, even in the conditions prevailing in the seventeenth century, Dongri hill was the key to Bombay, a small fort was built on it. In a description of that fort written by John Burnell, who commanded it for a short time early in the eighteenth century, it is stated that it was "seated on an eminence of a dry rocky soil fronting to the Bay. On the land side it riseth with a gentle ascent, but to the sea board is almost perpendicular, fortified by nature as well as art; being an oblong square of four bastions, whereof two are round, another cupt or cut, and bears some resemblance to an irregular tunnel

"That part of the Fort that regards the South, by reason of its altitude, commands the Castle of Bombay, for whose defence it was built, being distant therefrom something upwards of half a mile, and is likewise the Northern point or boundary of Mody's Bay . . . In this Fort is the only prison for debt on the Island; others are likewise committed for theft, murder, riots or the like. The serjeant of the rounds likewise hath orders, who walk constantly at nine, to bring in all abuseful, lewd and suspected persons, who must there give an account

*Plague laid waste Western India between 1686 and 1696.

of themselves. Those for debt are generally committed or cleared by the General and Council's orders, and when discharged, have free liberty to depart, paying the customs of the guard, which is a Xeraphens to the Commander and a half to the men on duty, and is one of the principal perquisites the Commander hath belonging to him . . . On the east side of the Fort, that which fronts the Bay, the precipice is so steep, and the massy rocks appearing bare and ragged, that it would be madness for an enemy to attempt it this way, seeing nothing would attend them but inevitable destruction."

What happened to Dongri hill and the fort on it? After the Town wall had been completed, in 1716, the parapets were thought to be not stout enough for purposes of defence and "should the town be attacked . . . Our people would not be able to keep their posts on the walls, especially on the more exposed part facing the hill of Dongri." It was therefore ordered, in 1739, that Dongri post should be put in a state of defence, and, in the same year, in view of the danger of a Maratha invasion, the merchants of the town offered a voluntary subscription up to Rs. 30,000 towards making the town more safe and the "Maratha ditch" round the walls was accordingly begun. "The great happiness we enjoy under the English Government," they wrote, "in the perfect security of our property and in the free exercise of our respective ways of worship, leads us to be very desirous of continuing the same advantages to our posterity."

A survey in 1752 showed that there were 19 guns in Dongri fort, but many of the gun carriages were unserviceable; and during the ensuing years, when the French and not the Marathas were the enemy most to be feared, there were many anxious discussions as to what should be done about Dongri hill. In 1758 Major Mace reported that Dongri fort not only commanded that part which was defenceless but even the whole town itself. "Were an enemy to possess themselves of Dongri, which I apprehend not difficult, they might from thence batter the Mandvi bastion and their shot, plunging through the whole town, not only greatly favour any attack but if they pleased lay the whole town in ashes." He accordingly recommended either that the hill should be enclosed and brought within the town, or that the works on it should be destroyed and the hill levelled.

Opinion gradually came round to the idea that the best way to deal with the potential danger from Dongri hill was

to remove the hill itself; and a report by Lieut.-Colonel Campbell, a Bengal Officer, settled the matter. Dongri fort was blown up and so by slow degrees was the hill on which it stood, the earth being used for filling up adjacent batty grounds and the stones for ballast in ships or for filling in Mody Bay. It was probably during this levelling that a seventeenth century hornwork was buried. It is surmised that it was part of that hornwork which was found—a covered stone passage with solid walls and a teak door at the exit—when the foundations of the G. I. P. Railway long distance station were being dug.

On January 1st, 1770, Col. Keating, the principal engineer, laid the foundation stone of a new fort on the site where Dongri hill had formerly stood, and, by order of the Governor, Mr. T. Hodges, named it Fort George in honour of King George III. This new fort was joined up with the bazaar ravelin of the main fort of Bombay.

St. George's Hospital now stands on the site of Fort George and a small part of the old fort remains to this day within the hospital compound as a reminder of bygone excursions and alarms and of the now vanished hill which was once the key to Bombay.

The long digression about Dongri* hill may be taken as typical of the whole history of the fortifications of Bombay. That history is, in brief, a recurrent cycle of events: the sudden discovery that the island is defenceless, the hurried adoption of some new project for strengthening the fort, the condemnation of that new project by a fresh expert. And through it all runs the lament of the Company at the heavy expenditure, followed by a plaintive defence from Bombay which generally takes the line that the expenditure could not possibly be avoided.

“To prevent any one in future diverting our cash designed for trade by laying it out in buildings,” wrote the Company in 1724, “we add that if hereafter any new buildings be set about without our previous leave from hence, we shall expect the President and Council to reimburse into our cash whatever is expended thereon and will do our utmost to recover it.”

*There were several other outforts, of which the structure in most cases survives. They were at Mahim, Worli, Sion, Rewa, Sewri, Mazagaon, Butcher's Island, and immediately to the south of the Great Breach (Hornby Vellard) at Mahaluxmi. Later additions, in the nineteenth century, were at Breach Candy, Malabar Point, Middle Ground and Oyster Rock.

That grim threat seems to have taken effect. But engineers were more than once a source of trouble. Capt. Jaques de Funck, sent out as Chief Engineer in 1753, made a very critical report on the fortifications; but he never finished the plans that he promised and in 1758 it was stated that "he has trifled with us in that important point for upwards of four years." His successor, Major Mace, found the town in an undefended condition and proposed to fortify the town on a new line from Dongri to Back Bay. The Bombay Government agreed with that project "the more so as it appears a considerable expense will be saved by preferring the execution of that plan to that of altering and amending the present old works, by a vast charge in making ravelins, raising cavaliers and other works." But the Court in London was in a truculent mood and condemned "the lavishness and extravagance" shown in Bombay in the employment of military overseers, ordered that no works of any consequence should be begun without permission, and, in 1760, wrote in caustic terms:—"Upon receipt of this letter you are to stop all such works as can possibly be let alone, for the charges of Bombay and the subordinates are become enormous and beyond bearing. Our Engineers, when they get abroad, seem either infatuated or suffer themselves to be grossly misled."

That is a memorable phrase. But the Engineers might have retorted that the Company did not often seem to know its own mind. Only a little earlier, in January 1758, a 10 per cent tax on the produce of all landed estates in the island had been ordered in order to reimburse the "prodigious expenses which the Company has incurred in increasing the fortifications and the works on the Island for the security of the inhabitants in general." In April, 1759, the Court wrote with something approaching ecstasy:—"It is extremely pleasing to us that you have shown such true attention to our interest in laying additional duties and taxes on the inhabitants thereby relieving us in some degree of the burden we cheerfully bear to put the Island in a state of security. We applaud your conduct and we have pointed out this commendable example to our Presidency at Calcutta, who have never once considered the equitable right we have to such assistance."

It was not only buildings that cost money. Much demolition of coconut trees and houses had to be done outside the fort walls in order to obtain a clear field of fire. Something in this direction had been undertaken in 1742, upon which the Court

commented : "Thus when one costly step has been taken, our servants have continually fallen into another, wasting our estate in a very expensive and unsatisfactory manner." Twenty years or so later, it was reported that under cover of "houses, walls, banks, holes, trees", and Mendham's Point cemetery, an enemy might approach unseen within a few paces of the Apollo Gate. In November, 1760, the Bombay Government wrote that they had ordered the demolition of a Portuguese church that stood within 400 yards of the Bazaar Gate. "If attacked by an European enemy the church would prove of the utmost ill consequence to the defence of this place, as some of the walls were four feet thick." The church was to be rebuilt at a cost of over Rs. 18,000. The infuriated Court, on hearing of this, wrote : "It is evident if an immediate stop is not put to these expenses, on the least opening given them the engineers will be ever forming new projects, so that our money will be buried in stone walls, chunam and expensive operations, while our mercantile concerns languish and we experience disappointments which we should have no reason to expect if our money was not expended on these unprofitable works. For we positively repeat here that no more be undertaken without our previous approbation."

More communications of that kind are on record. In 1778 the Court, greatly displeased "after sustaining heavy losses and experiencing great abuse in conducting the public works at Bombay," wrote : "If we find you deficient in your attention to these our orders and instructions we shall consider you as unworthy of our confidence and as improper persons to fill the stations which you hold in our service."

What it may be asked was the reason for all the elaborate and costly fortification ? One enemy after another had disappeared—the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Moghul's navy. There remained the French. "Can it be supposed," wrote Col. Campbell in his report on the fortifications in 1768, "that so vigilant and political a power as France is still ignorant of the Company's defenceless state in this part of the world, and have not discernment to place a just valuation upon the importance of such a conquest to them, or its irreparable loss to the British Company ? Or can it be expected with propriety that, although we are now at peace with that nation we can assure ourselves of its continuance when we see them daily increasing and indefatigable in disciplining a numerous army and marine ?"

This record of alarms and excursions has but briefly mentioned the Pirates and the Marathas. From the early days of the British occupation of Bombay much damage was done to trade by pirates, of whom the most troublesome was Angria who in 1698 became Admiral of the Maratha Fleet and was able to found a piratical empire along the coast from Goa to Bombay. The origin of this adventurer is disputed, but it seems that he took his title of Angria from Angar, or Angarwadi, a village in the Ratnagiri district. His small but fast sailing ships and rowing boats, manned by 40 or 50 oars, became a very grave menace and in 1715 Charles Boone, Governor of Bombay, received a petition from the inhabitants of Bombay complaining of the oppressions and injuries they had received at Angria's hands. Governor Boone accordingly undertook to make Bombay secure from attack. He completed the town wall, strengthened the gates, and, by getting frigates built at Surat, revived the Bombay Marine—by which name the Sea Service of the Company was known for nearly 200 years. But an attack by sea on the pirates' fort at Gheria in 1720—made after Boone had turned all Portuguese priests out of Bombay on the ground that they were concerned in treasonable dealings with Angria—was only partially successful. Stronger measures were needed and the King was persuaded to despatch an expedition against the pirates and a squadron from England arrived in Bombay in the autumn of 1721. It thus became possible to attack Angria in his stronghold of Alibag and the Viceroy of Goa and the Portuguese General of the North at Bassein agreed to take part. The attack failed, chiefly owing to the timidity of the Portuguese. The Viceroy pretended to be ill, the Portuguese troops would not advance, and Downing in his "History of the Indian Wars" depicts the infuriated English Commodore as "coming ashore in a violent rage, flying at the General of the North and thrusting his cane in his mouth, and treating the Viceroy not much better."

The same writer has left a curious picture of Bombay life at that time. There was a dispute about precedence between the Governor and the Commodore of the Squadron, and only when that had been settled would the latter consent to go ashore. "The island of Bombay was now thronged with the Navy officers who looked as much superior to us as the greatness of their ambition could possibly lead them. There



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were daily duels fought by one or other of them and challenges perpetually sent round the island by the gentlemen of the navy. Having such a great number of gallant heroes we were in great hopes of totally demolishing Angria."

Boone has been much criticised for his treatment of one Rama Kamatji, an old servant of the Company and the builder of the modern temple of Walkeshwar, who was condemned, on a charge of high treason, for aiding Angria: the written evidence was forged and supported by oral evidence extracted by torture under Boone's supervision. It is not an edifying tale; but the fact remains that, apart from that episode, Boone did great service to Bombay and, by his action at sea, cleared the stage for the greater events that were to raise Bombay from a state of obscure and precarious existence. "Though this honourable gentleman," wrote Downing, "was defeated in most of his undertakings against Angria, with no small trouble and concern to himself, he left the island in a good posture of defence both by sea and land. He found the same unguarded and very poor, but left it flourishing in trade and many merchants were come from Madras and Bengal to settle there."

Nonetheless Angria and his descendants after him continued at intervals to harry the trade of Bombay, and, by seizing such places as Elephanta and Rewas, to threaten its existence. Various inconclusive assaults were made upon their fleets, until in 1755—after an alliance had been formed with the Peshwa, to whom Tulaji Angria refused to pay tribute—Commodore James of the Bombay Marine, with a force consisting of a 44-gun ship, a ketch of 16 guns and two bomb vessels, captured the four forts of Suvarndrug without the loss of a man, and without any help from the Peshwa's ships. After the fall of that stronghold James went on to Bankot which surrendered at the first summons and was handed over to the Marathas to be kept for the English. On his return the English Commodore, according to agreement, made over Suvarndrug to the Marathas and in October, 1755, the English took possession of Bankot, its name was changed to Port Victoria, a Mr. Price was appointed its Chief, and a garrison was sent there. Tulaji Angria was not yet conquered. But the settlement of Bombay had at last spread to the mainland. Bankot, at the mouth of the Savitri river, 73 miles S. E. from Bombay, now little more than a fishing village,

was destined to be the foundation stone on the mainland of the Bombay Presidency.*

A crushing blow to the pirates was delivered in the following year when the naval and military strength of Bombay was increased by the arrival of Admiral Watson with a squadron of the Royal Navy and of Col. Robert Clive with a large body of the King's troops from England. The troops had been sent to attack the French and their allies in the Deccan ; but Richard Bouchier, who had become Governor of Bombay in 1750, and his Council thought they might first be employed to advantage in reducing the stronghold of Gheria (Vijayadrug) in which Tulaji Angria had taken refuge. Commodore James, who reconnoitred the position, reported that it was not another Gibraltar as it had been represented, and his judgment proved correct. The squadron sailed from Bombay in February 1756, consisting of 12 men-of-war (six of the Royal Navy and six of the Bombay Marine), five bomb vessels, four Maratha grabs, and 50 gallivats. This powerful force carried, for land operations, 800 Europeans, a company of King's artillery, and 600 Indian troops. " On the 11th the squadron arrived off Gheria and found the Maratha force camped against it. Tulaji Angria terrified at the strength of the British fleet, left the fortress in charge of his brother and took refuge in the camp of his own countrymen. The Maratha general then endeavoured to persuade the admiral to postpone the commencement of hostilities, promising to bring Tulaji in person the next morning to arrange a peaceful surrender of the fortress. But as he failed to keep his word, the admiral gave the signal for attack. On the 13th February at 6-23 p.m. the flag in Gheria was struck, and an officer with sixty men marched into the fort and took possession ; at 6-36 p.m. the English flag was hoisted. The following day Clive marched in with all the land forces, and then

*The subsequent growth of the Bombay Presidency is not within the scope of this book and its history is an astonishing tangle as may be deduced from the following outline. By conquest or treaty or lapse Bombay acquired Salsette and the harbour islands (1782) ; Surat (1800) ; Kaira and Broach (1805) and territory added to them (1817) ; Malvan and Vengurla (1812) ; the Northern Konkan (1817) and the South Konkan (1818) ; Khandesh (1818) ; a large part of the Peshwa's dominion in the Deccan (1818) ; Aden (1839) ; Kolaba (1841) ; Sind (1847) ; Satara (1848) ; and Kanara (186). The Kathiawar States (187 separate States, talukas and estates) were grouped in a political Agency subordinate to the Governor of Bombay in 1822. They and the Cutch and Palanpur Agencies were transferred to direct political relations with the Government of India from 1924, leaving 151 Indian States, with an area of 28,039 square miles, still in the Bombay Presidency.



RICHARD BOURCHIER GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY 1750-60
From the portrait by George Duncanson in the India Office

despatched a boat to Bombay with letters recording the capture of the Fort and the destruction of Angria's entire fleet. Thus the pirate disappeared for ever from the political arena and in due course settled down to the life of a country-landholder, subject to the laws of the British Government."

"Already by his brilliant defence of Arcot"—writes Maclean—"Clive had established the superiority in arms of the English over the French in Southern India; he now taught the Government of Bombay their own strength against the country power by successfully carrying out a bold offensive enterprise, and it was reserved for him in the following year to found a new empire in Bengal. To Clive's successes then, Bombay, like her sister cities of Madras and Calcutta, may trace the origin of her present political greatness." But the Governor's share in this exploit, as its initiator, should not be overlooked. Bombay is forgetful of these eighteenth century worthies. Yet Richard Bouchier was a man of no small distinction. He had been Second in Council in Calcutta at the time when the Court's Directors dismissed the President and most of his Council for sending home goods of an unsatisfactory quality. Thus he just missed becoming Governor of Fort William, became Governor of Bombay at the age of 61, and had a son who, a little later, was Governor of Madras. Such a conjunction as Sir William Foster has observed, was surely unique. The Company, however, failed to appreciate the way in which Bouchier kept the peace with the Marathas. When the Peshwa sent him an elephant the Directors in London were most indignant. "What does Mr. Bouchier want with an elephant?" they asked. The elephant, he replied, "is your Honour's property and the greatest honour the company had ever conferred upon them at this Island."

The conquest of the arch-pirate did not, however, mean the end of piracy. That flourishing industry had been carried on along the coast of Western India for too many centuries to be uprooted by one defeat. Armed vessels continued to dash out from Malwan and Savantvadi, and, north of Bombay, from all manner of creeks and islands along the coast of Gujarat and Kathiawar. It was not until after 1807, when the Kathiawar states were taken under British protection, that the Rao of Cutch could be induced to co-operate with the British Government in the suppression of piracy; and in 1812 treaties were made with Kolhapur and Savantvadi whereby the sovereignty of Malwan and Vingurla was ceded to the English and all

vessels found equipped for war were given up. The final blow was not given to the pirates of Kathiawar until 1819 when a British force under Col. Stanhope escalated Dwarka and put the whole garrison, who refused to ask for quarter, to the sword. All this of course intimately affected the trade of Bombay, but the views of the Bombay merchant on the subject of piracy have rather escaped the notice of those historians who have dealt with the subject.

An extraordinary insight into the state of affairs prevailing in Bombay in 1792—when Mr. George Dick was officiating Governor—is given in a manuscript letter in the possession of the present writer. It was written by Samuel Hollingsworth, a purser in the East India Company's Marine, to Capt. Cochrane (later Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane) who forwarded it to Lord Melville (Henry Dundas) who was Secretary for War, Home Secretary and President of the Board of Control for Indian Affairs, who endorsed the letter.

"The whole coast—wrote Hollingsworth—is over-run with pirates who attack our ships with impunity and chase them even into the harbour of this place (Bombay). Two of them were thus treated some days ago and chased all the way from Goa. This was not Raja Angria's fleet but another set of pirates called the Malvans from the province of Malva which extends from hence to the southward as far as Tippoo's coast and which seems the only one at peace with us.

"In our way to Surat we fell in with Angria's fleet (I think I told you before that his Port is not above four leagues from us). It consisted of 4 vessels from 12 to 16 guns, and 9 boats carrying from 2 to 4 guns each. They chased and took a boat bound into Bombay in sight of our ship. The Malvans have taken the ship Admiral Barrington of London, one of the Botany bay transports which had leave to call at Bombay on her way to England for a cargo of cotton. I believe she belongs to Alderman Curtis. The Captain and crew are in slavery and the ship sunk at the mouth of one of their Rivers. About 10 days ago they boarded the ship Dundee belonging to the house here late Mr. David Scott's, plundered her of part of her cargo, murdered the Captain by cutting him to pieces and wounded the other officers; after this they turned her adrift.....To-day we are advised of their having taken the Nerbuddah, one of the largest ships belonging to this Port on her return from China.

“ To-day, all the Europe merchants are assembled and have told the Government that they will send their own ships to destroy the Pirates if they could obtain leave to do so. But the Government is afraid to do anything lest they should offend the Mahrattas, whose subjects Angria and the Malvan Pirates are.

“ Thus while the people at home are foolishly thinking, we, the undisputed Masters of the peace and the fate of India, our merchants on its western coasts are fleeced, pillaged and oppressed by the Government on one hand and plundered by the pirates on the other with little or no prospect of redress. If there were no army here I am fully persuaded the Island, which contains near 100,000 people, would be not far from rebellion and I will tell you the reason, rather to satisfy any other person who knows less of me than you do, why I write so seriously on so serious a subject. I told you in a former letter that there was an immense army of Mahrattas lying at Poonah which is only 70 miles hence under Scindeah. Almost all the rice brought into Bombay, an Island that raises nothing within itself, was allowed to be shipped off to feed the Mahrattas. It rose to 100 per cent. above its usual price. The distresses of so many thousands produced no effect on the Government. The exportation went on as usual and nothing but the sudden arrival of several ships from the other side of India prevented all the horrors of a famine. I am certain our countrymen in London and Edinburgh would not be in the most placid state of temper under similar circumstances. But there is this difference, that the Bombay army is very numerous and would be very ready to suppress any rising of the Hindoos whose mild and amiable tempers are, generally speaking, extremely averse to bloodshed and violence”

“ As we leave this in a few days in order to go down the coast on our way to Europe, Captain Drummond is making every preparation to give the pirates a warm reception and I trust they will not find us an easy conquest for we have some good men on board who will fight like devils, yet they have lately taken stouter ships than ours.

“ To the northward of this, the pirates are also very numerous as far as the Gulf of Cambaye but they are not united like those to the southward committing their robberies chiefly in open boats. Yet they make many captures upon the small vessels that trade between this place, Surat, Broach and Cambaye.”

Mr. Hollingsworth, it will be seen, had no desire to paint the situation in Bombay in any but the blackest tints. There was undoubtedly a state of panic. States with whom the British were professedly at peace were sanctioning the most brutal outrages on British ships, the Company's Marine—as represented at the time by two or three Grabs—was inadequate to its task, and the Board of Directors was as usual slow to take any action. A petition from the European and Indian merchants made at that time was, after some delay, accepted and inquired into by a Committee. It is a lengthy document which cites many examples to prove why the trading community was alarmed “for the safety of the many ships now expected with the returning trade of China, Bengal and other ports to a large amount, defenceless and exposed without protection to the predatory attacks and lawless capture of the Malvans, Mahrattas and other piratical States of the coast of the Deccan.”

“We hope,” it concluded, “Your Hon'ble Board will see the necessity of taking immediately some more effectual measures for the protection and safety of the homeward bound trade, and that the urgency of the danger will excuse us in the liberty we take in submitting these suggestions, the object of which is to request your Hon'ble Board to send out such of the Company's armed cruizers as are of sufficient force to act with effect against all the vessels and fleets of the marauders that shall be found at sea, and if an addition of force should be required we beg leave to offer our services in being at the expense of arming a vessel or two, for the purpose of making reprisal upon them, in which we only request Government to assist us with a proper guard of sepoys and the loan of some gifts.”

To this Government replied that it was as much their inclination as their duty to protect the merchants but that “we cannot make reprisals on nations with whom we are at peace”—and there followed interminable requests for redress and the return of the ships that had been seized. Of course, the Malvan Rajah and the rest of them always said that the ships had been seized by mistake; and it was 20 years or more before the merchants of Bombay saw their ships leave harbour in the knowledge that they would not be attacked anywhere off the West Coast.

The history of the troops that have served in Bombay is on the whole very like the history of the fortifications that has

already been narrated, a series of alarms alternating with periods of retrenchment—all rather haphazard and seldom controlled for any length of time by a fixed policy. It was the early policy of the Company to form a reserve of trained bands or militia which included Portuguese and Deccanis, and their small force of European troops in the Islands included French, Dutch and Swedish soldiers. Both the health and the moral of the force were bad, and in 1674 there were two mutinies. A more serious event was the revolt in 1683 of the whole garrison under the command of Captain Richard Keigwin.* At that time the garrison consisted of 505 men including 150 English and 200 Topasses and others. It threw off its allegiance to the Company and held the Island in the King's name against them for nearly 12 months.

The troops had long standing grievances about the rate of exchange and the debased coins with which they were paid, there was a scarcity of provisions, and there was a hard-hearted Court in London which would not listen to petitions but dismissed officers concerned in presenting them. Keigwin himself, write the Stracheys, "had no personal grievances against the Company; he was, in fact, almost the only individual in Bombay of any consequence at all who had none. . . . He threw in his lot with the rest of the garrison partly no doubt from sympathy with their grievances, but chiefly because he was disgusted at the misgovernment of the Island, and the tyranny and injustice of the Company towards its own servants; and was honestly of the opinion that he could himself manage matters much better for the present, while ultimately the Island ought to be governed by the Crown. For this rebellion was a disloyalty neither to his King nor his Country, but only to the East India Company."

Having imprisoned the Deputy Governor and usurped his place, Keigwin proclaimed the reversion of the Island to the King and declared that trade was free and open to all his Majesty's subjects; the population, English, Portuguese and Indian, signed an oath of allegiance to Keigwin as Governor in consideration of which their old privileges were confirmed; and the mutineers wrote a long, muddled letter to the King and to the Court, reciting their grievances and alleging that John Child had been heard to talk of selling the Fort. Keigwin

*The episode has been narrated in detail in one of the most valuable contributions to the early history of Bombay—"Keigwin's Rebellion": by Ray and Oliver Strachey (Clarendon Press, 1916.)

showed himself, during the time he held Bombay, to be a determined and capable administrator. He put the garrison on a more satisfactory footing, giving them pay at their old rate of 21s. a month, at the current bazaar rate of exchange and reckoning 13 months of 28 days to the year; and he made much progress with the Fort and with an unfinished bastion. Sir John Child at Surat received the news of these happenings as "a bitter pill that damages all our Joyes," and, after consulting his Council, sent commissioners to inquire into "the naughtiness and wicked actions of some on Bombay" and to suppress the revolt. But this and other attempts by Child proved useless. "It is indeed quite evident," write the joint historians of this episode, "that, in Western India at any rate, the feeling at this time against the Company and the President was so strong as to be practically unanimous; and there was no hope whatever of putting down the mutiny with the forces available on the spot. Bombay could only be regained by the help of men who had not experienced the exasperating effects of the government of the two Childs."

As soon as the news of the revolt reached England, Charles II issued a royal command, dated August 23rd, 1684, to Keigwin to deliver the island to Child, and a free pardon was offered to all except "the four grand incendiaries," for whose apprehension rewards were publicly offered; and eventually on the 19th November 1684, Keigwin, on receipt of a promise of free pardon, handed over Bombay to Admiral Sir Thomas Grantham, who had been despatched with a force from England to quash the rebellion. Keigwin was placed for the time being under arrest, in which plight "he showed himself as impudent as Hell, the notorious naughty rascal," and was eventually taken back by the Admiral to England in July, 1685.

After the restoration of Bombay to the Company the garrison was reorganised and increased. A company of Rajputs was added: the Governor was granted a personal guard of English grenadiers. But the death rate was still very high, and hospitals were of little use so long as many of the men enlisted in England or Bombay were "debauched broken tradesmen and renegade seamen," men who were "allowed to lie up and down in the woods where by their debaucheries they fall into distempers and die like rotten sheep." Ovington, writing in the latter part of the seventeenth century, said that it was a proverb among the English in Bombay that "Two Mussouns are the Age of Man." The cause of the

mortality, apart from such visitations as plague, was partly ignorance partly vice: it was also thought that the custom of manuring palm trees with fish made the place peculiarly unhealthy. Mendham's Point Cemetery, part of which is now covered by the buildings of the Legislative Council, received the bodies of the soldiers almost as fast as they came to Bombay. Sir John Gayer, writing to the Company in 1702, complained of the small number of soldiers sent out and the danger of invasion. "This number," he eloquently pleaded, "sometimes will not satisfy the craving of Mendam's Point above halfe one month."

Burnell, writing a few years later, gave the most detailed account of the cemetery that has survived. "Adjoining (the hospital) is seated the most famous European repository in the East, Mendum's Point a name more terrible to a sick Bombaian than the inquisition to a heretick: a cormorant paunch never satisfied with the daily supplies it receives, but is still gaping for more, tho' it hath swallowed more English flesh than the Bengall Tamarind Tree, Madras Guava Garden and the Green Hill at Bencala; yet still it hath room for those numbers twice told, and when these are digested, it will be as ravenous as ever.

"Weathering this small point is more difficult than the Cape in the month of July. I once plied hard, and, tho' but a sorry sailor, made a shift to get to windward, tho' abundance in trying wreck themselves thereon....."

That Burnell did not exaggerate is known to all those who saw the closely packed bones in the trenches dug for the foundations of the Legislative Council Chamber in 1928.

An improvement in health was gradually effected and the building of barracks in the Fort must have assisted it; but the difficulty of getting good recruits continued. In 1752 the Court of Directors sent out a whole company of Swiss Protestants. The prospect of war with the Marathas led to reorganisation and enlargement of the garrison, which by 1768 consisted of one European regiment of 1,600 men, divided into three battalions, and two battalions of "Native levies," which were later to become known as the 103rd Mahrattas, now the 1st Bn. 5th Mahratta Light Infantry, and the 108th Infantry. In 1778 the European Infantry were incorporated into one strong battalion known as the Bombay Fusiliers, later as the 103rd R. Dublin Fusiliers, and, more familiarly, as "The Old Toughs."

Still later in the 18th century, when fear of the French had led to the initiation of a volunteer movement in Calcutta, Bombay also was seized with a spirit of patriotism and formed a Voluntary Association which was presumably modelled on the scheme of the many similar bodies and corps of Fencibles that had been formed in England. But the motive in Bombay may well be said to have been purer than in England, where men volunteered for the most part with a view to escaping the Press Gang or service in the Militia. In addition to forming in Bombay a European Armed Association (uniform: green with black velvet and gold embroidery) an Indian Militia force was raised, and by the early part of 1799 it was reported to be "in great forwardness." There were then "four complete companies for the infantry and two for the artillery, each consisting of one captain, two lieutenants, four sergeants, four corporals, and 96 privates of the native Portuguese inhabitants. The Parsees had formed six strong companies, officered by the most respectable of their own caste, ready to be employed in any situation that circumstances might render expedient. Numerous bodies were also forming of Hindus and Mussulmans, who pressed forward to evince their attachment to a Government which respects their personal freedom, the security of their property, and the undisturbed exercise of their religious rites." This, however, was not though sufficient and a regiment of two battalions was raised under the designation of the Bombay Fencibles, from the inhabitants of Bombay, Salsette and Caranja, on the condition of not being liable for service outside that area—a limitation of liability which had already been introduced for volunteers in England and which was for long to be perpetuated in India. The Fencibles combined the principles of compulsion and the voluntary system in a very curious way. As the men could not be obtained in sufficient numbers, an order was issued calling on various castes to furnish a quota of their number chosen by lot. But the pay was made by voluntary contributions. Jonathan Duncan, the "Brahminised Englishman" who was then Governor, undertook to pay for 100 men, the Members of Council for 50 and so on in proportion. At the end of the year it was possible to disband the regiment, of which 300 were drafted into the regular service. In 1803 it was again embodied, but the call for men in the field was more urgent than the claims of local defence. In addition to the operations in the Deccan under Arthur Wellesley, who had just won the victories of Assaye and Argaum, a force

was operating under Col. Murray in Gujerat. It was therefore resolved to form a new regular regiment from the Fencibles and thus there came into being the first battalion of the 9th regiment, which in due course became the 117th Mahrattas, who in the great war fought with distinction in Mesopotamia, and later the 5th Royal Battalion, the 5th Mahratta Light Infantry. But the Fencibles have still another claim to be remembered: they were the lineal ancestors of subsequent Volunteer Corps, such as the Bombay Volunteer Rifles and the present Bombay Battalion, Auxiliary Force, India.

In 1857, the year of the Mutiny in the Bengal army, there were in Bombay 400 European troops and three regiments of Indian Infantry to whom the disaffection had in some degree spread although they were implicitly trusted by their officers. The Commissioner of Police at that time was Charles Forjett, a man who was born and bred in India and who not only possessed great detective ability but could disguise himself as an Indian without fear of discovery. There was trouble that year during the Muharram which led to a conflict between Indian troops and the police and, to quote the account by S. M. Edwardes, "a few days later, Forjett erected a gallows near the police office, summoned the chief citizens whom he knew to be disaffected, and pointing to the gibbet told them that on the slightest sign that they meditated an outbreak they would promptly be hanged. The hint was taken. But there was still danger from the sepoys. Forjett learnt that a number of them were systematically holding secret meetings at the house of one Ganga Prasad. He immediately had this man arrested, and induced him to confess what he knew. The next evening he went to the house and through a hole in the wall gathered from the sepoys' conversation that they meant to mutiny during the Hindu festival of the Divali in October, pillage the city and then leave the island. His report of this to the officers was received with incredulity; but Forjett persuaded Major Barrow, the Commandant of one of the regiments, to go with him to the house. 'Mr. Forjett has caught us at last,' said Brigadier Shortt when the facts were reported to him. Court-martials were promptly held, the two ring-leaders—a native officer of the Marine Battalion and a private of the 10th N. I.—were blown from guns on the Esplanade, and six of their accomplices were transported for life. The Divali passed off quietly, and thus by the prescience of the Superintendent of Police, Bombay was saved from the horrors of mutiny."

According to Forjett, if the mutiny in Bombay had been successful, Lord Elphinstone, who was Governor at the time, thought that nothing could have saved Hyderabad and Poona and the rest of the Presidency, and after that he said " Madras was sure to go."

Occasional references have been made in this chapter to the Bombay Marine, but the Sea Service has been known by many names. The Honourable East India Company's Marine, which dates from 1612, became in 1686 the Bombay Marine. That title survived until 1830 when it was changed to the Indian Navy. In 1863 it became the Bombay Marine once again; in 1877 Her Majesty's Indian Marine; in 1892 the Royal Indian Marine; and tentatively in 1926 the Royal Indian Navy. Some of those changes indicate a change of policy, but the Service has had a continuous existence and has a record of which it and Bombay, with which it has always been most closely associated, are justly proud.

In 1863 it was decided that the Royal Navy should take over all maritime defence duties in Indian waters and the Indian Navy was accordingly abolished and so, as one of its historians has said, there passed away for a time " the power from a service which had exercised undisputed sovereignty from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Singapore." The main change was that the Service was no longer combatant and European seamen were replaced by Indians. It was manned, as it still is, by seafaring Mahomedans from the Ratnagiri district of whom many are descended from the pirates with whom the old Bombay Marine waged bitter warfare. A few years later a trooping service was organised. In 1871 the Government of India bought two coast defence vessels as the nucleus of an Indian naval defence force and, when these were subsequently reinforced by several torpedo boats, an Indian Defence Squadron was formed, under the command of a Captain of the Royal Navy, which lasted until 1903.

The war record of this Service is a long one up to the time of the Great War when it was represented, either by individuals or complete units, in the Grand Fleet, the North Sea, France, the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, Egypt, Mesopotamia and East Africa. It also has a distinguished record of survey work in eastern waters.

After the Great War various schemes for the reorganisation of the Royal Indian Marine were proposed. None of



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LORD ELPHINSTONE, GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY, 1853-60
(From a lithograph by Count D'Orsay)

those was accepted ; but in 1926 a committee, under the chairmanship of General Lord Rawlinson, recommended that the Service should be reorganised as a purely combatant Naval Service with the title of Royal Indian Navy. The scheme was accepted by the Indian and Home Governments and the necessary Act to permit India to maintain a Navy was passed through both Houses of Parliament. To effect the change in the title it was necessary to draw up a new Indian Naval Discipline Act, and this had to be passed in the Legislative Assembly and Council of State in India. The Bill was introduced in February 1928, when the Government were defeated by one vote, the defeat being caused not by the fact that the people of India did not want an Indian Navy, but because in some cases members did not consider that the Legislature had been properly and fully consulted beforehand. Other members voted against the Bill on principle, as they considered that both Army and Navy should be directly controlled by the Legislature, while the extremists voted against it because they were prepared to vote against any Government Bill which might be introduced.

The blow to the Service was a heavy one, as it was feared that the defeat might put an end to the reorganisation. The Government, however, decided that the reorganisation should continue on the original lines, except that the title could not be altered, and that the service would have to use the old Discipline Act. In 1928, on the recommendation of the Admiralty, His Majesty the King approved of the change in uniform of officers to that of the Royal Navy, with the exception of the buttons of the R.I.M., which bear the Star of India as a distinctive mark, and also of the flying in R.I.M. ships of the White Pennant and the White Ensign of the Royal Navy. The White Ensign was hoisted for the first time on Armistice Day, November 11th, 1928.

Closely associated with the sea service, was the Marine Battalion, which was raised for service in the Company's ships and which took part in every fight in which those ships were engaged. That battalion became in time the 1st Bn. 11th Regiment Native Infantry. After the abolition of the Indian Navy they became the 21st Native Infantry, then the 121st Pioneers, then the 102nd Bombay Pioneers, and now the 2nd Bn., 4th Bombay Grenadiers (King Edward's Own).

During the 19th and 20th centuries it was Bombay's fate, owing to her geographical position and the facilities offered

by the port, to be the base of a number of overseas expeditions—notably to Perim in 1799, to Egypt in 1801, to Abyssinia in 1871, to Malta in 1878, to Natal in 1899, and to Somaliland in 1902-04. During the Great War 2,297,924 troops and personnel crossed the quays from shore to ship or from ship to shore in Bombay, where greatly increased facilities for embarkation had been provided by the construction of the Alexandra Docks, which had been opened in March, 1914. Never had Bombay known such activity as then. Great buildings which had recently been finished, such as the Prince of Wales Museum, the College of Science, and the G. I. P. Railway's Audit Offices, were converted into hospitals; and, under the energetic direction of Lady Willingdon, the women of Bombay, of every community, were set to work for the hospitals, for the hospitals overseas, and for the hospital ships, as they had never worked before. It was by the efforts of Lady Willingdon that the Queen Mary's Technical School for Disabled Indian Soldiers was established in Bombay, at first in Braganza hall, Byculla, which was lent by the executors of the late Sir Jacob Sassoon. To Lord Willingdon, who was then Governor of Bombay, and to Lady Willingdon Bombay owes a very great and lasting debt of gratitude for their leadership at that time.

Practically all through the war the Bombay Independent Brigade was commanded by Major-General Sir Wyndham Knight, who was also Defended Port Commander and, for some months, Embarkation Commandant. The tremendous burden of work that he was called upon to shoulder may be illustrated by the fact that at times he had as many as 20,000 regular troops in the Brigade area including Deolali and the great camps which were erected at Wadala and elsewhere in the north of the island. It was during his tenure of command too that compulsory service for European British subjects was introduced, and six units of the Indian Defence Force were brought into being in the Bombay Brigade.

Bombay at that time escaped any such bombardment as that which Madras suffered from the Emden; but one of the Emden's prizes—the "Wolf"—which successfully returned to Germany in February, 1918, after keeping the sea for over 14 months—laid 110 mines off Bombay. Five of these proved effective in 1917. The ships sunk were the P. and O. "Mongolia," the Japanese "Unkai Maru," and "Okhla" and "Croxteth Hall." The "City of Exeter" was badly holed

but managed to return to Bombay where she was dry-docked in the Hughes dry dock. About 50 mines were recovered by sweepers and eight of which were two were found at Juhu, were washed up on the coast.

During the war the two railways not only had to deal with exceptionally heavy traffic but undertook to equip transports and manufacture munitions in their shops. For example, the G. I. P. Loco works at Parel built three armoured trains, armoured a number of motor cars and made shells for 4.5 quick firing howitzers. The B. B. & C. I. Loco and Carriage shops at Parel (which were transferred in 1930 to Dohad in Gujarat) turned out ambulance tongas, transport carts, bodies for motor ambulances, and 13-lb. high explosive shells.

CHAPTER V.—RECLAMATION.

"Bombay owes everything to successive reclamations."—*Report of the Committee appointed by the Government of India to inquire into the Back Bay Scheme in 1926.*

FOUR early descriptions of the physical features of Bombay, before its component parts were all joined together, are of importance not only for the picture they give of the place as the English first knew it but as a background to the history of the struggle with the sea. The first is by Dr. John Fryer, in "A New Account of East India and Persia; Being Nine Years' Travels, 1672-1681." He arrived at Bombay at the end of 1673, went to Surat in September, 1674, and was back in Bombay for a short time in 1675.

Fryer says that when the English took over Bombay "they found a pretty well Seated but ill Fortified House, four Brass Guns being the whole Defence of the Island," and "about the House was a delicate Garden, voiced to be the pleasantest in India, intended rather for wanton Dalliance, Love's Artillery, than to make resistance against an invading Foe." The Quinta, or Great House of the Lord of the Manor, which is thus described became the nucleus of the fort, the "Castle" which by 1673 had been so enlarged and strengthened that the Dutch refrained from attacking it. Fryer, walking the rounds from that starting point, gives the following description:

"At distance enough lies the Town, in which confusedly live the English, Portuguese, Topazes, Gentues [Gentiles, *i.e.*, Hindus], Moors, Cooly Christians, most Fishermen.

"It is a full Mile in length, the Houses are low, and Thatched with Oleas [palm leaf] of the Cocoa-Trees, all but a few the Portugals left, and some few the Company have built, the Custom-house and Warehouses are Tiled or Plastered, and instead of Glass, use Panes of Oister-shells for their Windows (which as they are cut in Squares, and polished, look gracefully enough). There is also a reasonable handsome Buzzar.

"At the end of the Town looking into the Field, where Cows and Buffaloes graze, the Portugals have a pretty House

and Church, with Orchards of Indian Fruit adjoining. The English have only a Burying-Place, called Mendam's Point, from the first Man's Name there interr'd, where are some few Tombs that make a pretty Shew at entering the Haven; but neither Church nor Hospital, both which are mightily to be desired.

“ There are no Fresh Water Rivers, or falling Streams of living Water: The Water drank is usually Rain-water preserved in Tanks, which decaying, they are forced to dig Wells, into which it is strained, hardly leaving its brackish Taste; so that the better sort have it brought from Massegoung, where is only one fresh Spring.

“ On the backside of the Towns of Bombaim and Maijm [Mahim], are Woods of Coccoes (under which inhabit the Banderines, those that prune and cultivate them), these Hortoes being the greatest Purchase and Estates on the Island, for some Miles together, till the Sea break in between them: Over-against which, up the Bay a Mile, lies Massegoung, a great Fishing Town, peculiarly notable for a Fish called Bumbelo, the Sustenance of the Poorer sort, who live on them and Batty, a course sort of Rice, and the Wine of the Cocoe, called Toddy. The Ground between this and the great Breach is well ploughed, and bears good Batty. Here the Portugals have another Church and Religious House belonging to the Franciscans.

“ Beyond it is Parell, where they have another Church, and Demesnes belonging to the Jesuits; to which appertains Siam [Sion], manured by Columbeens [Kunbis], Husbandmen, where live the Frasses [Hindi *farrash*] or Porters also; each of which Tribes have a Mandadore, or Superintendent, who give an account of them to the English, and being born under the same degree of Slavery are generally more Tyrannical than a Stranger would be towards them; so that there needs no other Taskmaster than one of their own Tribe, to keep them in awe by a rigid Subjection.

“ Under these Uplands the Washes of the Sea produce a Lunary Tribute of Salt, left in Pans or Pits made on purpose at Spring-Tides for the overflowing; and when they are full, are incrustated by the heat of the Sun. In the middle, between Parell, Maijm, Sciam and Bombaim is an Hollow, wherein is received a Breach running at three several places, which drowns 40,000 Acres of good Land, yielding nothing else but

Samphire ; athwart which, from Parell to Maijm, are the Ruins of a Stone Cawsey [causeway] made by Pennances.

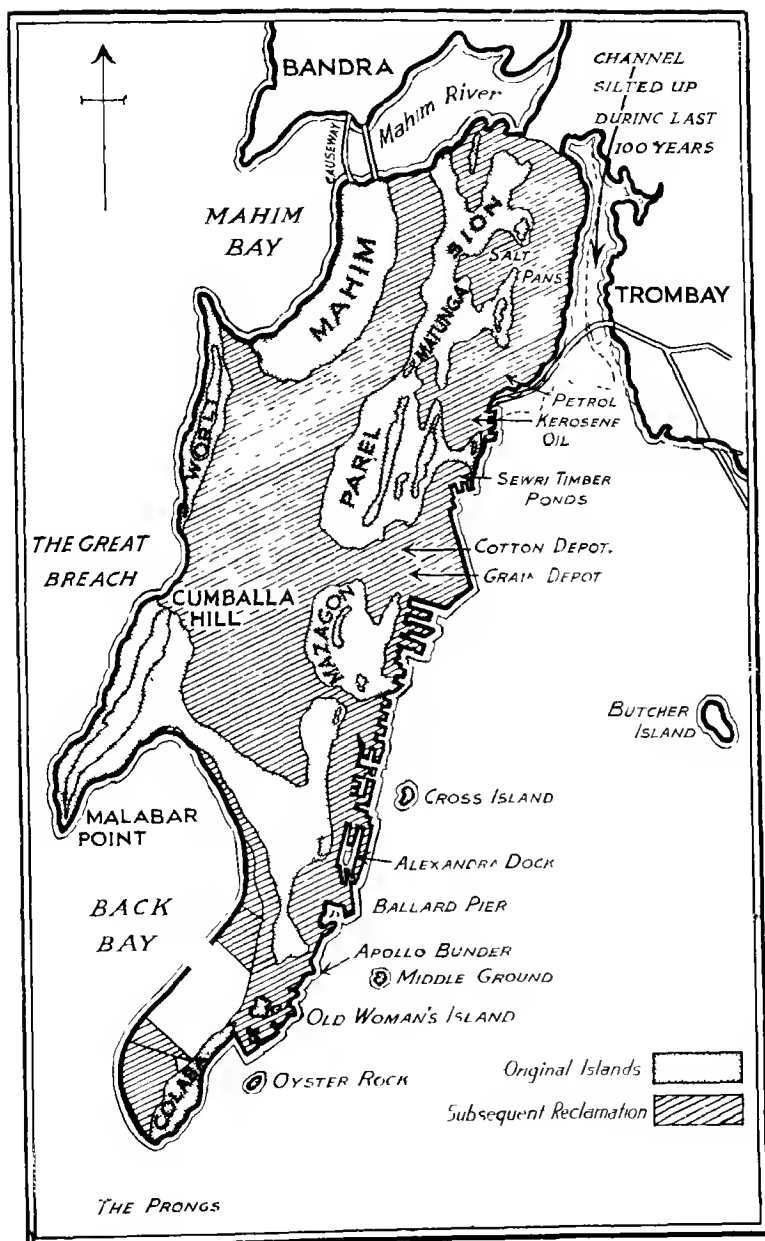
“ At Maijm the Portugals have another compleat Church and House ; the English a pretty Custom-house and Guard-house : The Moors also a Tomb in great Veneration for a Peer, or Prophet, instrumental to the quenching the Flames approaching their prophet’s Tomb at Mecha (though he was here at the same time) by the Fervency of his Prayers.

“ At Salvesong [Salvaçam], the farthest part of this Inlet, the Franciscans enjoy another Church and Convent ; this side is all covered with Trees of Coccoes, Jawks and Mangoes ; in the middle lies Verulee [Worli], where the English have a Watch,

“ On the other side of the great Inlet, to the Sea, is a great Point abutting against Old Woman’s Island, and is called Malabar-hill, a Rocky, Woody Mountain, yet sends forth long Grass. A-top of all is a Parsy Tomb lately reared ; on its Declivity towards the Sea, the Remains of a Stupendous Pagod, near a Tank of Fresh Water, which the Malabars visited it mostly for.

“ Thus we have compleated our Rounds, bringing in the Circumference Twenty Miles, the Length Eight, taking in Old Woman’s Island [here used to designate the two islands which make up Colaba], which is a little low barren Island, of no other Profit, but to keep the Company’s Antelopes, and other Beasts of Delight.”

Practically contemporaneous with the foregoing account by Fryer is “ a Scheame and Narrative of your Island Bombay ” which Aungier wrote for the Court of Directors of the East India Company in December, 1673. It is a long account of the Island, too long to be fully reproduced here, which has been happily described as “ the earliest British Administration Report relating to India.” By Aungier’s time it is noteworthy that the original seven islands which make up Bombay (the “ Heptanesia ” of Ptolemy) had become four. “ By the breaches and overflowings of the sea in severall places it seemes to make four small Islands in Spring tides, which at low water are passable for man or beast ”—and the four were (1) Colaba and Old Woman’s Island, (2) Bombay, Mazagon, Parel, Sion and Dharavi, (3) Mahim and (4) Worli. “ The sea by the said breaches,” wrote Aungier, “ hath eaten up about one-third and that the best and richest part of the Island, which yet by



The Seven Islands of Bombay and the reclaimed land

industry and some charge is recoverable and would prove of great advantage and security to the whole."

Reference to old maps will help to an understanding of the physical features that were thus described by Aungier. It should first be noticed that the seven islands which form the basis of the structure of Bombay were hilly—those hills that were not everlasting—several of them have now been levelled*—are the key to the whole scheme of reclamation as it was originally contemplated. There were two more or less parallel lines of hills. The western ridge—from Worli to the steep cliff of Malabar Point—is part of a basalt barrier which runs as a great sea wall from Bassein to Alibagh, a distance of 70 miles, broken only by the creek opening into Bombay harbour. The eastern ridge is a mass of trap, mostly greenstone, which, though continuous from one end of the Island to the other, often sinks to sea level and is in places traceable only in wells and quarries. The chief gaps in these two lines of hills formed the "breaches" to which Aungier referred. The breach between Colaba and Old Woman's Island was not formidable and was only covered by the sea at high tide. Between Old Woman's Island and Mendham's Point on Bombay Island there was a deep channel, which in later years could be crossed on a ferry boat worked with a rope. A stone in the

*The more important hills that have been cleared away are —

Dongri hill, demolished 1769 (*Vide* Chapter on the defence of Bombay)

Naoraji hill The eastern side had been quarried before the Improvement Trust began in 1910 to level the hill in order to provide plots for houses and to give sufficient facilities for communication with the Docks and Rail way stations

Ghorupdeo hill This was cleared by the Port Trust 1893-1908 The stone was used on the Mazagon estate and the spoil for filling in low-lying land at Mazagon

Signal hill In the NE corner of the Mazagon bunder property Demolished 1910-16 The stone was used for the wall of the Mazagon-Sewri reclamation

Golanji hill This is being partly levelled (1932) in connexion with the new Sewri road scheme

Sewri hill This has been extensively quarried and the spoil used for filling low land and swamps

Rauli and Salamati hills Excavation on these two peaks of one hill began in 1911 The hill was the only place from which earth could be obtained at a reasonable price for the reclamation involved in the development of the Dadar-Matunga and Sion-Matunga schemes Earth from this source was also used for filling a large area of land in the Sewri-Wadala scheme west of the G I P Railway harbour branch line

Worli hill This has been partly levelled to provide a residential quarter on the foreshore and the spoil from it has been used for filling the low-lying land near the race-course

Flagstaff hill. (Between Pedder road and Tardeo). Stone from here was used for filling Back Bay in the 'sixties.

compound of the Colaba Police Station now marks the place from which the ferry was worked, and, according to the inscription on that stone, the channel was 800 yards across. At low water it was possible to ride across it ; but that, as more than one accident showed, was not a safe after-dinner amusement. The breaches on the Eastern side—Umarkhadi (the Mountain Creek or the Fig Tree Creek) and another gap just south of Chinchpokli and Parel—had apparently silted up by the time the British occupied Bombay. More serious affairs were the gap between Dharavi and Mahim and the smaller but fairly deep gap between Mahim and Worli. Most important of all was “The Great Breach,” which is now closed by the Hornby Vellard, where the water was four to five fathoms deep at high tide on either side of the little island where Haji Ali’s *durga* now stands. Through that breach the tide would come racing in, up to and northward of Pydhoni : it may even at some remote time have formed those four channels from which etymologists derive the word Chaupati

It was by closing the breaches that have been thus briefly described, and by then reclaiming the central part of the Island, that Aungier hoped to make Bombay self-supporting. “The ground,” he wrote, “though generally stony is by the laborious industry of the Inhabitants made very fertile and would bring forth all sorts of graine which India affords, but the Husbandmen finding their greatest proffit to arise from rice and coconutts have employed as it were all the land therein ; it produceth all sorts of trees for timber and fruit, all sorts of plants, roots and vegetables necessary for the use of man or sustenance, health, pleasure or proffit, as successfully and in as great abundance as any part of India, which we have experimented by a garden raised this yeare neare the Castle, the produce whereof doth sufficiently evidence the fruitfullnesse of the soile

“All provisions and sustenance necessary for life are procureable at Bombay, to wit, all sorts of corne and graine for man and beast ; there is beife, mutton, veal, lamb, porke, henns, ducks, geese, fish, &c., very good in their kind and sufficient quantitys to be gott ; but not all the produce of the Island itselfe, the greatest part being brought in from the neighbouring maine and Islands, for the people are soe much increased since the English settled thereon that its owne product doth not feed halfe the inhabitants ; and indeed what Colony, Plantation, Citty or mart of trade is there in the world that

more or less doth not need the assistance and commerce with forraigne parts for its supply, even in necessarys for life, as well as those for pleasure, pride or luxury. The famous and plentiful Cittys of London and Amsterdam, cannot well maintain themselves without it, much less the poore and narrow limited Island Bombay, yet as poore and narrow limited as it is, we are bold to affirme that if all the wast over flowen grounds were recovered (which is certainly feasible) and well manured, there would in few years by God's blessing be rice and other graine, sufficient to maintaine the Inhabitants, were they double the number they now are, and that without helpe from forraigne parts; and for other provisions there will never be want soe long as we have peace with our neighbours. Only this is observable, and not to be wondered at, that as the people encrease soe provisions grow proportionable deare, which we find by daily experience, all sorts of provisions being double the price they were formerly, and will yet grow dearer and dearer every yeare as the Island increaseth in trade, which we pray may not be displeasing unto your Honours, for though you will find the expense of house keeping great in your bookes, yet we hope also that you will find your publick Revenue and trade increased to a greater proportion and advantage."

After relating his proposals for strengthening the defences of the Island, Aungier wrote that "the Island is happy in severall Bays and Havens for shipping, for their security against the violence of the Sea and weather, as also in Docks to hale them ashore, to clean and repaire them, together with very convenient places to build and launch shippes and vessells from 400 to 40 tons burthen. The great Bay or Port is certainly the fairest, largest and securest in all these parts of India, where 100 saile of tall shippes may ride all the yeare safe, with good morage, the Bay being land locked against all winds but the South, and by West, and South West, which, though it blows violently in the raine times, yet for these two yeares past ships of 400 tons have wintered, one against the Fort continuing afloat all the raines. In the small Bay to the northward of the Castle ships of 400 tons have bin haled ashore to repaire, there being 15 foot water at the Springs." In the smaller bay to the north of the Fort ships of 300 tons could be beached; at Mazagon ships of 200 tons could be hauled ashore; there was ample room in various places for smaller vessels "soe that the Island is as it were by Providence appointed a mart for trade and shipping to which we pray God grant increase."

Of the four accounts of Bombay mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the third is by the Rev. J. Ovington and is contained in that writer's "A Voyage to Surat in the year 1689." But Ovington was less concerned with the topography of the Island than with the manners and customs of the English living on it—a sad story he had to tell of them—and with the history of the invasion of Bombay by the Mogul's Sidi admiral.

The fourth account is by John Burnell, who commanded the little fort on Dongri hill—a hill which has long since disappeared, and whose lengthy and detailed account of Bombay has only recently been rescued from the obscurity of a forgotten manuscript in the India Office library. Burnell, writing about 1710, noted that the centre of the Island was "wholly destitute of product, occasioned by the frequent Salenes the sea maketh there in every high water (the land being so low) which at nip tide retiring into the sea, leaveth the ouse dry." By the time Burnell wrote, however, the work of reclamation was begun and his detailed comments on it are more appropriately quoted later in this narrative.

Whether the Portuguese ever thought of undertaking reclamation on a large scale cannot now be determined, but there is no doubt that, from their first occupation of Bombay, the English saw not only the value of their new possession but the possibility of improving it by winning land from the sea. A letter to the Company in 1668 pointed out that at spring tide a third of the island was under water but that in the judgment of "sober men" it should be easy to keep the sea out at a cost of £1,000 or £1,200. "The Inhabitants affirme that in 3 yeares lying wast, onely casting upp the earth once a yeare it will make good Arable Land as any uppon the Island; and should it not, the ground would be usefull many other wayes, for there is want of it."

From that letter may be said to date the still unfinished work of making Bombay Island, and it may well be doubted whether the history of British achievement overseas contains anything equal to this epic struggle with the sea which has been going on in Bombay for two and a half centuries. It is a struggle characterised by many failures, by the expenditure of much money and the loss of some reputations, but distinguished too by an admirable persistence in the face of heart-breaking difficulties and by a courageous belief in the destiny of Bombay. By some strange chance the history of the early phases of this great epic has been to a great extent

ignored by the recognised authorities on the history of Bombay, though the original records in the India Office are ample enough to show its significance and interest.

From 1668 onwards to the end of the 17th Century there was much discussion as to whether it was feasible to close the "breaches." Captain Samuel Chamblett of the "Sampson" was commissioned by the President and Council of Surat to report on the matter and in 1670 the Council wrote to the Company that the waste or "overflowed lands" of Worli, Mahim and Dharavi were recoverable; "but as a worke of time and requiring more money then wee have to lay out for them, and better Ingeneers then wee profess our selves, wee deferr itt to a better opportunity." The engineer was found, a Colonel Harman Bake; but, in spite of the energy and enthusiasm of the President, the scheme progressed slowly, though "certein Corumbines" seem to have tried to hustle the Council. In September, 1673, a survey of the "overflowed land" was undertaken and it showed the area to be over 473 acres. Finding, however, that "none of the English, Portuguese or other Natives hitherto have been willing to undertake it by reason of the great charge and difficultyes of keeping the sea out and makeing so chargeable a wall as must be made, the President for himselfe and Mr. Matthew Gray, together with Captain Shaxton and some others, made a proposall to undertake for that parte which lyes between the Cassaby of Grogaon (Girgaum) and the south parte of the great breach at Vorelee (Worli), and what more can be there taken in and recovered to the greater advantage of the Company and Island, on the following tearmes, vizt :

"That the President, &ca., undertake to build a strong fence at their owne charge, without any the least expence to the Company, to preserve the said ground from the sea, on condition that they may have a Pattent from the Honoble. Company for the said ground to them and their heires for ever, they paying one Mora of Batty quitt rent to the Company yearly for the tearme of 41 yeares."

That project came to nothing—partly owing to the difficulty of getting labour for it, "the Siddy's fleet falling just at the time into Negotan (Nagothna) Bay, whence the labourers were to come"—but the underlying idea was not abandoned. Aungier, in the report which has been quoted above, observed that, although the work of reclamation was feasible, opinions

differed as to the cost of such work and the profits likely to accrue from it. He therefore asked for instructions—

1st.—Whether the designes be worth undertaking or noe.

2nd.—If to be undertakeing (as we hope it will appere) whether you will please to engage them and be at the whole charge thereof yourselves, or whether you will leave it to another, whether your servants or freemen or inhabitants who may be willing to raise a common stocke at their owne charge (and) Risigo (risk) to carry on said designe, they enjoying the whole profit thereof, paying only quit rent to the Company.”

Aungier went on to argue the case for the reclamation being undertaken by the Company—“for tis certain that except the honourable Company doe undertake and be at the charge either for the whole or the greatest part themselves, the great and maine breaches will never be made up ; for none in India are able, or will be willing, to deposit soe great a summe of money to be laid out for such a worke ; but if it be left to freemen or inhabitants, etc., they will only undertake to recover some few parcells, which will not cost much charge, leaving the maine designe totally unaffected.”

Towards the end of the year in which the document just quoted was written Col. Bake went to England with a large scale map of Bombay in order to explain the reclamation scheme to the Company. “Nothing,” wrote the Bombay Council, “doth possesse our thoughts more then the vastness of that worke and charge, which certainly in soe wise and excellent a Councell will require time and serious deliberation before you resolve to engage thereon.” The Company, after several times hearing Col. Bake, wrote to Surat for an opinion “whether you think it can be accomlisht (which to us seems very doubtfull) and in what time. Next what the charge may be and whether it may be secured from being overflowed againe ; and lastly what profit will thereby accrue to us to compensate our charge.” But the Company was quite willing that the work should be undertaken privately, and with that view the Government at Surat—thinking that both cost and profit had been over-estimated—fully agreed.

The death of Col. Bake, after he had returned to Bombay, and building the Fort (“soe fast as want of men and materialls through the envy and obstruction of our neighbours will admitt of”) delayed further correspondence on this subject until February 1678-9, when the Court of Committees again

returned to it raising the new point whether reclamation "would not be more unhealthfull to the inhabitants than now it is, being low grounds and morazzis." To that Bombay replied that the charge would so greatly exceed any profit that the Company could not be encouraged to lay out any money on draining the overflowed ground, though private persons would be encouraged—by what arguments it is not stated—to hazard the enterprise. The Company, however, still cherished the idea of finding "some ingenious persons" to undertake the work against which they themselves had been warned, pointing out that in the midst of the great breach "there is a little island which leaves but a very small channell on each side thereof," and thus showing that the proposed line of the *vellard*, which was later adopted, was straight from point to point across the mouth of the great breach. Haji Ali's *durga* stands to this day as a reminder of the site of the little island in the bay that is now bounded on the east by the curve of the Hornby Vellard.

While pointing out this natural aid to the construction of a dam across the great breach, the Company also drew attention to the fact that cultivators were reclaiming small plots of land for themselves and might reclaim more, and on land so won a quit rent should be levied.

Writing in 1680, the Council at Bombay said that "as to the overflown grounds, it's certainly unfitt and noe wayes advantagious for the Honble. Company to meddle with it, and the present troubles wee laboure under disencourages all thoughts of it from all others." But in April, 1684, the Company, remembering one may suppose the optimism of Col. Bake, sent definite instructions by which they committed themselves to many years of expense and anxiety. That the receipt of those instructions created no small stir in Surat may be judged from the fact that they necessitated three days' consultation, but no attempt was made to deter the Company from the work on which it had set its heart until a year later, when it was told that "the most understanding men do differ in their opinions on the scheme." And in January 1685-6 the Deputy Governor and Council at Bombay reported as follows:—

"Concerning the over flowne lands, there hath been a thorough inspection, but find it not feaseble to stop the great gap. The charge in all likelyhood will be much more then the advantage that may accrue thereby. At low water there is

above 100 yards wide and $4\frac{1}{2}$ fathom deep, the tide having such force with a swelling sea that there must be very strong walls, with sluices, which will be a vast expence and very difficult to make, the ground both rocky and rotten and att high water about 8 fathom in depth in some parts and 1200 yards broad. The checking of the sea may cause it to increase the more upon other places. Therefore wee humbly conceive that the cutting of rivers may be the best way and the passage obtained by the channells may rather occasion the gaineing then looseing of ground, as hath been experienced."

Refusing to be alarmed by the prospect of great expenditure, the Company ordered the work to be taken in hand hoping that means would be found to double the revenue of the Island. To this point they recurred a little later, saying that "we hope since our charge is and has been so great in securing that important Island you will invent means to raise such a revenue upon it as may in some time recompence at least part of that great charge We have been at to secure it." Writing in 1689 the Company rather changed its argument, not very convincingly suggesting that the health of its factors was its first thought. "You give us some," it wrote, "but very faint hopes of taking in the over-flowed grounds which we are very fond of, if it can possibly be effected, for the sake principally of your own healths, although we are of opinion that all ground in a few years will come to be of such great value in Bombay, that that which is now overflown, if it can be made dry land, would recompence our charge, though it should cost us 5 or 600 li: the effecting. But these works can never be accomlisht for the publick utility without great care, study, forecast and diligence, and therefore we must rely upon our President to be serious and thoughtfull how to contrive every thing for the best at first, that we may not hereafter have cause to undo or alter your first foundations; and we incline to make all conveniences at first larger than your present occasion seems to require from the present numbers of your people or the bulk of your generall trade, because we are apt to think these may double and treble within a few years. However, if you contrive them at present only big enough for the circumstances you are now under, you must cast in your minds how you shall have ground enough to enlarge them hereafter and with the least expence of pulling down anything you shall now erect, and contrive as near as you can in all your new buildings for decency, order and uniformity."

The Bombay Council remained passive, though they were more than once reminded that draining the marshes might improve the health of the Island—"a matter that lyes much upon our thoughts"—and did not show any great anxiety to comply with the wishes of the Company until 1698 when it despondently wrote :—

"Concerning dreaning the Island where tis overflowne, we can give your Honours no manner of encouragement to attempt it, for that the charge will be excessive great, if it can be effected, and where to get so many people as is necessary to imploy about it we know not. Therefore, all that wee can propose to do is, as wee increase in people, to be taking in small parcells of ground by farming them out for 40 years at an inconsiderable rent, for on no other tearms will any one medle with it, for that it costs them a great deale to bank the ground, and afterwards tis some years ere it produces any thing answerable to the charge. This was the most that ever could be done formerly and by that means there was severall parcells gain'd from the sea, some of which were made use of for Battee and some for salt ; but in the time of the warr (*i.e.*, 1689-90 when the Sidi occupied part of Bombay) a great many banks were destroyed, for which reason many that farmed the parcells of ground so inclosed can't be got now to stand to the Contract, though they pay but 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5 Xeraphims per annum for them and wee offer to excuse them paying their arrears since the warr. But in time this business may be improv'd."

The dawn of the 18th century found the physical outline of the little group of Bombay islands much as it was when the Portuguese reluctantly surrendered that property to the English. There had been more than 30 years' discussion as to the feasibility of recovering the "drowned" land between the islands, a discussion marked by the expression of a confusing variety of opinions, but no real progress had been made. A few little plots of marginal land had been reclaimed and brought under cultivation. The hard work, delayed by internal troubles, war, shortness of money, and the reluctance of the Company to embark on so hazardous an undertaking, had still to be tackled ; and incentive to tackle it was not lacking. Sanitary considerations, ever growing in force as Bombay became notorious for its high death rate, a desire to make the Island self-supporting and to increase the revenue of the settlement, and an equally strong desire to see a larger population, with a greater proportion of Europeans, on the island,

all prompted the Company to cherish the reclamation project. Reports seem to have reached London in 1703 that some private speculators had offered to clear "those marish grounds" and the Company was quite ready to encourage them, adding that "to invite inhabitants to reside there we should grudge no tollerable charge." But the original estimate of the cost was hopelessly out of date. "Formerly the Breach was offered to be stopt for twenty thousand Xerapheens. It will cost four times as much now" (1704). Not content with urging the desirability of stopping the breaches, the Company in 1708 tried to be helpful by suggesting the making of a sand bank reinforced with layers of straw and cajan boughs—"an ingenious man" might do this cheaply—and that labour should be obtained from Carwar where, it was said, there were people "well skill'd in stopping breaches."

The straw and sand method found no favour in Bombay and skilled labour from Carwar was not forthcoming. But a gentleman named Capt. Euclid Baker made a fresh survey of the islands and, about 1710, work on the dams was begun in earnest. Thereafter for a time hopes ran high. It was hoped to recover a third of the overflowed ground by the rains of 1711, and in two seasons more to free the Island from any inundations. In May, 1710, it was reported that "two of the Breaches are near stopt"—namely those between Mahim and Dharavi, and between Sion and Dharavi and in the following year the accounts show that over Rs. 4,300 were spent on the Breaches. The third breach at the north of the island was completed in 1710/11, and it was hoped that the other two—between Malabar hill and Worli, and between Worli and Mahim—would be finished by Christmas, 1711. "Extremely pleased" at this news, the Company wrote: "Wee hope you will go on to perfect all such necessary and useful works that the Island may at length become more healthful, people may be invited to resort to it and thereby it may become a flourishing mart and our great magazine for that side of India." The outlook was indeed bright when the work on the breach between Worli and Mahim was completed (1711/12), and the Company wrote reassuringly that "all these usefull and necessary works wee shall never complain of so they be done substantially and with frugality."

Those first dams are described in detail by Burnell in his account of the Island. "To the westward of the Fort (on Sion hill) is a Tank, and a small distance from that the breach

of Sion, which overfloweth a great part of the Island and almost joineth the breach at Worley. This ground is recovered at the expence of the Company who have flung up a noble large dam as a fence against the river, near three quarters of a mile in length. It is formed like a rampier with two talus, being 30 or 35 feet broad at the bottom and about 20 on the top, the perpendicular height near 12. The side to the river is worked up of rock stones (whose foundation is extremely good) ; ten are 12 feet in breadth, and the other that faces the Island of the same architecture, only much narrower, being about 7. The heart of the dam between the stone work is filled up with firm fast clay and rubbish, and the top covered with a gravelly sand, which makes a most pleasant walk to the south of which is a grove of Palmero trees ; and here this jurisdiction endeth. Mahim (which begins where Sion guards fall off at the end of the dam) hath a small rising spot of ground equal to the height of the dam, which runs but a small distance e're you enter upon Mahim breach, which is likewise dam'd up, tho' not so broad either at top or bottom by 5 or 7 feet, tho' the height is the same. It is something more than half the length of the other."

Of the breach between Mahim and Worli Burnell wrote :—
" At the extreme end it's parted from Worley by a breach of the sea, though at low water it falls mostly dry, but at high or on spring tides it is not passable on foot, so that at those times there tends a small ferry boat for the conveniency of passengers. When I left the Island they were about damming up this breach, designing to go through with all that remains open to the ocean's invasion."

Symptoms of apprehension may possibly have begun to appear by 1713. At the beginning of that year one-third of the straight dam across the great Breach was finished, but labour had to be diverted from it to stop a leak at Worli ; and at the end of the year it was felt that the job would take longer than had been anticipated owing to scarcity of labour. The Company too was less optimistic than it had been. Writing early in 1714 for an "abstracted account of the true charge in stopping each of the Breaches" and for details about the land recovered, it said that it was informed that the walls were too upright but might be made more secure by sloping the walls on either side. A similar criticism was made a year later. But no hint of constructional defect in the dams appeared in the Bombay letters. " Have been a year working

on the great Breach (March, 1714); are got to the narrow deep channell where is 4 to 5 fathom water, but have great quantitys of stones to throw in, so hope it will not be difficult. When it is finisht the grounds will produce 2000 Morahs of Batty free of charges, and at 20 Rupees the Morah will be 40,000 Rupees a year."

At the beginning of 1715 it was hoped that "the great Breach wall" would be nearly finished during the fair season. In October the work was reported to be going but slowly under the direction of Capt. Hanmer who was given Rs. 2,000 reward for his six years' service. And then, almost suddenly, it was realised that Bombay was faced with disaster. An Engineer, Capt. Vane, reported after surveying the breaches (December 1715) as follows:—

"In pursuance of Your Honours' orders I have been to view the Breach of Worlee. It proves to be in a very poor condition and ready to fall in severall places, where are great cracks and openings, particularly on one side of the sluices where its fallen in and makes a large hole, and in all probability in a spring tide or two more will be lain open in that place.

"I humbly represent to your Honours that according to the method hitherto practised, it will be impossible effectually to stop and secure this breach, it being absolutely necessary that the dyke be composed with large piles, filled up between with earth, stones, faggots, &ca. as practised in Europe, for which end it wou'd be necessary that a good number of large trees may be got ready as soon as possible they can be procured, for the beginning the said work.

"Its absolutely necessary that I inform your Honours that from the aforesaid breach, all round the Bay, down to Mahim Fort, the sea washes so violently in stormy weather that it has already washed down a great deal of the sand banks and made three breaches, where all spring tides the water flows in a great way, and if not taken care of in time, will prove of as bad consequence as that at Worlee.

"At the point of Mahim the sea has already borrowed so much that some of the tombs are almost buried in the sands and the coconut trees washed down, &ca."

The Company learned to their amazement that the breaches were in "a lamentable condition," that "improper methods" had been taken to stop them, and that Bombay

was "in calamitous circumstances." "Do you take care," replied the Company, "to secure the sea wall which experience, even in this our river of Thames, hath taught the concerneds to look after with the utmost diligence, lest by want of due care it be all to be done again." Some years later (1721) the Company returned to that analogy, sending out to Bombay—in the hope that "it may give you light and afford proper hints"—a book by Capt. John Perry, which had just been published, entitled "An account of the stopping of Daggenham Breach: with the Accidents that have attended the same from the first Undertaking: containing also Proper Rules for performing any the like Work."

Serious as the position in Bombay had become, work on the breaches was delayed at one time for want of a boat to carry stones, at another for want of labour and because the labour available was busily employed on the town wall, at another by operations of war. At the end of 1717 a Bombay letter expressed the wish that the Company had sent out a man fit to undertake the work: masons and master bricklayers also were wanted. Two years later the cost of the work remaining to be done was estimated at a lakh of rupees, "but the recovery of so much land is worth it." The same letter suggested a new scheme for dealing with the problem of the great Breach. The abstract says:—

"Wish could go on to stop the Breaches so often recommended to get done. Without further assistance can't think it prudent to undertake them and it will cost Rupees 1,00,000 but the recovery of so much land is worth it. Can't think it practicable to stop it where former works were begun. The Channell being become larger, two other methods proposed, which leave to the Company to judge of, having an exact map of the Island. One is beginning a new work half a mile within the present, making a semi-circle and confine the water in a small bay; the other by a Channell cut straight from the mouth of the Breach by the north side of Mazagon hill to discharge the water into the bay; the expence either way much alike."

The former of these projects, initiated by Capt. Elias Bates, was adopted after being examined by a committee, and it was agreed that Capt. Bates should be given Rs. 6,000 grātuitly though he demanded Rs. 10,000. The rejected scheme came from Captain Johnson and by reason of its originality deserves more fully to be described. He proposed first

to complete the old work across the Great Breach, using for that purpose 2,000 sepoys who would build the wall with stones to be blasted from the adjacent hills. That, he said, could not fail of success. Failing that he proposed a more costly scheme "but subject to no hazard of succeeding," which was to cut a channel 100 ft. broad and 7 ft. deep in a direct line across the Island from the mouth of the Breach to the north side of Mazagon hill: the sea entering the Breach was to be trained into this channel by walls. Both Capt. Johnson's schemes were rejected by the committee as impracticable: Capt. Elias Bates was appointed to close the great Breach and, as will be shown, proved himself—in spite of his name—to be a very poor prophet.

The scheme adopted seems to have been to construct a semi-circular double wall, with intermediate filling, across the Breach with "8 relieving Sluyces and 2 standing ones at Worlee and Malabar hill side." A start was made on it in 1721, during which year the Treasury Accounts ("By charges stopping the Breach—its new account") show the expenditure of Rs. 64,336 including Rs. 4,000 paid to Capt. Bates. In March, 1722, Bombay reported that "Mr. Bates seems qualify'd to stop the Breach, but believe it will near double the charge he proposed, but the benefits are sufficient motives to go on, for all the low part of the Island will else be soon overflow'd". The work was carried on "with due care and application" and in November, 1723, it was thought that another twelve months would see the finish of it though the plans for the disposition of the sluices had to be changed. The twelve months passed, but the work was not done and it seemed that at least two more years would be necessary for its completion. Expenditure kept steadily mounting up and by the spring of 1724 the Company was seriously alarmed. "Could we have apprehended it would have cost so much we should never have consented to its being begun, and as it is, if it should miscarry, it will be to no purpose hereafter to attempt another essay and throw more good money away upon it, under the uncertainty of its ever being finisht, and answering our charge when it is done." A letter from Bombay, written at the end of that year, can have done nothing to relieve the Company's anxiety for it plainly hinted that even if the Great Breach should ever be stopped the profits would be small. Experience on the land recovered between Mahim and Sion had shown the difficulty of getting the salt out of the ground and of getting any crop to grow on it, and, applying that experience

to the far larger area of ground to be recovered by stopping the Great Breach, the Government of Bombay mournfully concluded "better it had not been undertaken considering what it will yield." The first attempts at growing rice on the reclaimed land were not a success. Coconut palms were then suggested but were said to be unsuitable in some parts of the ground where there was "a chunam hard clay" within a foot of the surface. Subsequently it was said that sugar cane seemed most suitable. The "Veredadores and Matras of the Island" were asked for their opinion on this subject and suggested that a "coarse Batty" should be sown—"the surface of most part of the land being of lime stone, and underneath a stiff thick clay which will render it very proper for Batty when the stones are taken off."

It was not until 1728 that the Company learned to their relief that the great work was finished except for "slopeing the work with a proper bank within and without and cutting a channel for drawing off the backwater by Worlee sluice made for that purpose, expecting the whole will be compleated in two or three months at farthest, so as to put an entire stop to that expence." It is a matter for reflection at this stage that, if the Company's orders had been literally interpreted, the work would have been abandoned before 1728 and all the money expended on it would have been wasted. In view of the failure of the first attempt to close the Great Breach, of the repeated falsification of Capt. Bates' estimates, and of the dwindling hopes of any considerable profit, it must have required a great degree of courage on the part of the Bombay Government to persevere with the undertaking. The Company had written in 1724 that unless the Breach was stopped by the time their letter arrived, "or so near it as to have no doubt of its being soon compleated, it would be in vain to continue wasting so much money year after year under the uncertainty of its ever being finisht or rendering the Company compensation when it was." That injunction was more than once repeated. In April, 1726, the Company wrote: "If it is not done by the time this comes to hand it will be in vain for us to wait any longer. Four to six hundred pounds and upwards a month, as we find by the accounts, we are charged, as issued out on that work (notwithstanding the many prisoners you have employed about it, which We take for granted have no wages) is too great a disbursement for us to bear, and it looks as if Mr. Bates had a jobb of it which he would continue as long as possible."

The attitude of the Bombay Government in the face of these and other injunctions to stop spending money on the Great Breach may be best seen from the report of a consultation in June, 1728, when a heavy monsoon had shown the need for constant repairs to the wall and for a protective sloping bank of shingle. They concluded that "our Hon'ble Masters can never mean orders to be positive where the complying with them must tend so vastly to their prejudice, as in appearance the present neglect of preserving this work will be and the forbearance by their late orders from a further expence thereon being provisional in case the breach was not done, that is to stay stopt on receipt of them which in effect it was." It was then concluded that the work of repair and of sloping the wall might go on "without incurring any censure, whatever may be the consequence," rather than permit "a work which has cost such an immense sum to be entirely lost thro' the neglect of it for the sake of saving a further small expence." Soon after that consultation had been recorded, however, the Bombay Government had again to recognise that the estimates were wrong. The monsoon had shown that the sloping would take a good deal more than two or three months; it had washed out several facing stones, "which your Honours may believe did give us aking hearts for the sake of the whole;" and it had shown the necessity of spending about ten thousand rupees "for its security against any weather can be expected."

The accounts and letters for subsequent years show that a small sum of about two hundred rupees, often much less, was spent every month on keeping in repair the Great Breach—as the dam closing the Breach was called—and on adding stones to the protective talus or slope. In 1731 it was reported that "as there is nothing to defend the entrance of the Breach, should an enemy attempt to land there, but a guard of twenty sepoyes, we have raised a small stone battery of two guns on the skirt of the hill on the south east side of the entrance, which will secure it." Part of that battery still survives. But the sea was the chief enemy to be feared and constant attention to the Great Breach can alone have secured it until 1785 when the "Breach Villade" was reported to be in great want of repair and the necessary work on it was ordered "but on no account to exceed the estimate which amounts to Rs. 4,300."

From the account which has here been given of the second attempt to close the Great Breach it may easily be deduced that Capt. Elias Bates gradually lost alike the confidence and

the support of the Bombay Government, until mere mention of his name must have provoked bad language in Bombay Castle. The Company, as has been shown, thought, in 1726, that Capt. Bates was prolonging the work for his own benefit. That was probably not the case: it is far more likely that he found his task much more difficult than he had anticipated. It never seems to have occurred to the Government of the time that if Capt. Bates was incompetent, their's was the responsibility for engaging him without adequate inquiry into his ability to carry out his proposed scheme within the estimated time and cost. When Capt. Bates demanded his gratuity, the Bombay Government professed themselves astonished at his impertinence. It is an edifying tale.* Writing to the Company, 25 July, 1729, the Bombay Government report: "Captain Bates sent us in May last his demand in writing for six thousand rupees gratuity, one hundred rupees per month for a year and a day and palanquin coolies to be allowed him for that time, pleading a bond given him by President Boone and Council when he undertook the stopping the Great Breach and presented to them his scheme for accomplishing it. But as we are of opinion that the bond was grounded on the scheme given in by Captain Bates, which has not at all answered the end, since the perfecting of that work will cost your Honours five times the sum mentioned in Capt. Bates' scheme and calculate, and that he spent as many years as he proposed months in doing it, we don't think he deserves to be gratified, but rather mulcted for undertaking what he very little understood and was no ways equall to; for 'tis most certain the expence of that work has been greatly encreased through his ignorance. Copy of his scheme and proposalls with the bond is now sent in the Pacquet and we beg leave to referr your Honours to our Consultation of the 16th May for the answer we gave to his demand."

In the Consultation referred to in that letter it was recorded that the Secretary should make out the expenditure on the Great Breach from February 1720 to April 1728; and as a result Capt. Bates was asked to repay Rs. 3,20,423—a debt which of course he denied.

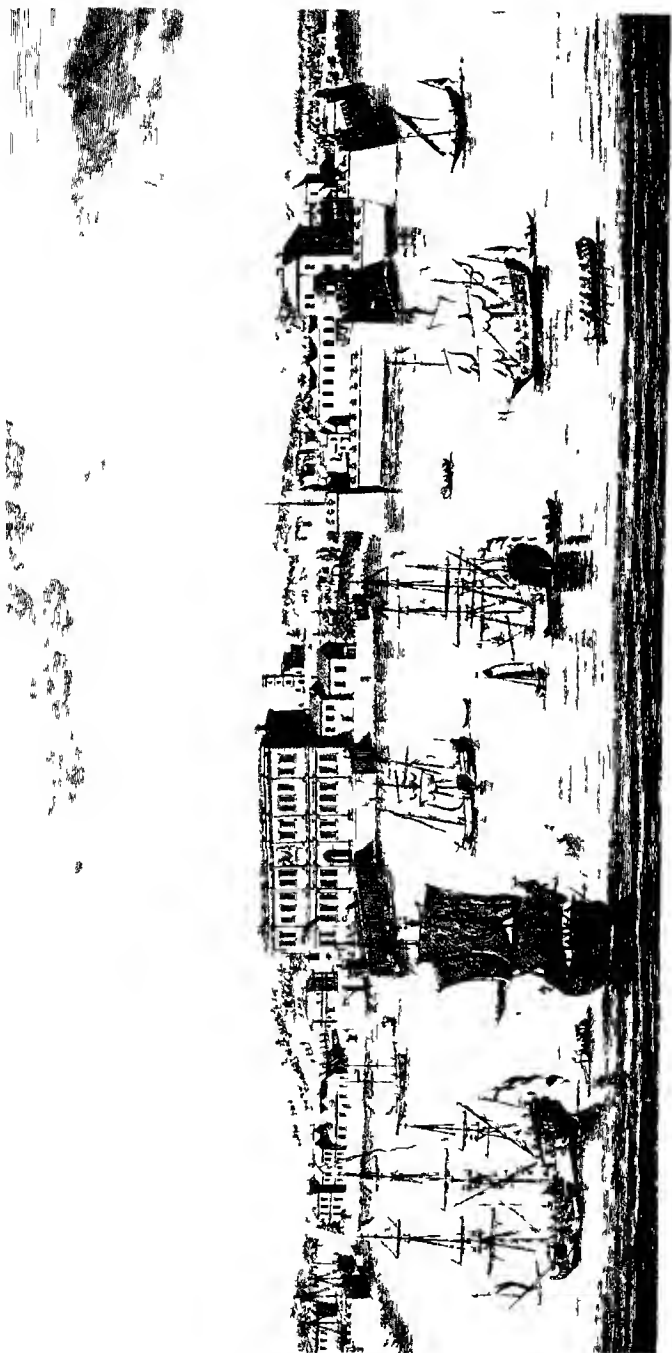
*A later incident of the same kind. Owing to the delay in finishing the Collector's house at Thana (begun in 1824 and finished in 1827), and because it cost Rs. 11,726 more than was sanctioned, Lieutenant Grant—who was in charge of the work—had Rs. 200 a month stopped from his pay. The fine was afterwards remitted. (Bombay Gazetteer, XIV. 353).

That is not the only queer tale connected with the dam across the Great Breach. That dam has been known to many generations in Bombay as the Hornby Vellard. William Hornby was Governor of Bombay from 1771 to 1784. In 1785 it was reported that the "Breach Villade" was in great want of repair and the necessary work on it was ordered: so that Hornby cannot have done much, if anything, to it, although he is commonly credited by various writers with having built it. Not content with crediting Hornby with this great work, writers like Maclean and Douglas adhere to the pleasing fiction that he built it in defiance of the Court's orders. J. M. Maclean, in his Guide to Bombay, says that "about the time the Vellard was finished, Governor Hornby, opening with his own hand the despatches, found an order for his suspension which, his term of office being nearly expired, he put in his pocket until he had finally handed over charge to his successor. The Hon. Court of Directors were excessively irate, and an order came out which, we believe, has ever since been in force that the Governor should never open the despatches in future, but that they should first be perused by one of the secretaries of Government." There is no record of all this, or of any quarrel about the Vellard with Hornby, in the India Office. It is one of the fictions about Bombay—like the story of the embezzlement of the funds for building the Cathedral—that have been handed down from one writer to another.

One other legend must be recorded. It is to the effect that during the era of Mahomedan domination the goddess Mahalakshmi was so persecuted that she leapt from the shore into Worli creek and there remained in hiding until after the Portuguese had ceded the island to the English. During the early stages of the attempt to dam the Great Breach, the goddess appeared to one Ramji Shivji, a Prabhu contractor, and—to quote from the Gazetteer—"promised that, if he tendered his services to Government for the construction of a causeway, she would remove all obstacles, provided that he first removed the images of herself and her two sister goddesses from their watery resting place and established them in a proper shrine on land. Ramji acted according to these divine instructions and eventually, after the Hornby Vellard had been successfully built, obtained from the Bombay Government a grant of the site upon which the temples still stand."

With the sea shut out and the dams kept in repair there began the second stage of the reclamation, the filling up of

VIEW OF THE MOUTH OF THE RIVER OF THE CITY OF LONDON



all the low-lying land so that it would be fit either for agriculture or for building. The work was slow, so slow indeed that much of it was not done until the 20th century was well started. It was largely helped by the construction of roads which were in effect embanked causeways. The first of these was Bellasis road, built in 1793 by the poor driven from Surat in that famine year, out of funds raised by public subscription, under the orders of General Bellasis. For years after the completion of that road, with its two gaping black ditches on either side, no public work of any size was attempted in Bombay. A good deal later came Grant road, through surroundings which were practically open country. It was opened to the public in 1839 (the year after Sir Robert Grant had died at Poona) and was then described as requiring a parapet wall on either side owing to its great elevation above the adjoining land. Clerk road and Haines road across the Flats were built in the 'sixties, Ripon road in the 'eighties. Foras road perpetuates in its name this interesting phase of development by road-making. At one time any road or track crossing the Flats or Foras lands between Malabar hill and Parel was known as a Foras road. The term seems to have been intended to be applied to roads which were to be constructed by *foras* tenure holders—*foras* denoting "the rent in particular which is paid by a cultivator or person permitted to occupy ground for the purpose of improving it, but without any lease or other grant by which he can maintain possession during the continuation of a term."

In addition to these internal roads there was the Sion Causeway, built by Governor Duncan in 1805, which has led to the gradual silting up of the creek between Bombay and Trombay. The Lady Jamsetji Causeway, between Mahim and Bandra, is of later date, 1845. By that time Colaba Causeway, which had been projected in 1820 but not started till 1835, had been built ; and it was subsequently more than once widened.

Apart from that not much was done before the 'sixties to extend the foreshore, which was described by J. M. Maclean as being like "one foul cesspool, sewers discharging on the sands, rocks only used for the purposes of nature. To ride home to Malabar Hill along the sands of Back Bay was to encounter sights and odours too horrible to describe, to leap four sewers whose gaping mouths discharged deep black streams across your path, to be impeded as you neared Chaupati

by boats and nets and stacks of firewood, and to be choked by the fumes from the open burning ghat and many an 'ancient and fishlike smell.' To travel by rail from Bori Bandar to Byculla or to go into Mody Bay was to see in the foreshore the latrine of the whole population of the native town."

Those horrible conditions were removed by a series of reclamations by which "the whole foreshore of Bombay has been regulated and advanced into the sea below low-water mark." Some of that work was undertaken in the late 'thirties, but most of it was subsequent to the outbreak of the American Civil War when Bombay made a fortune out of cotton beyond the dreams of avarice and dissipated much of it in gambling. "The unexpected wealth poured into the lap of Western India by the terrible incident of the American Civil War—now happily brought to a close—was not used wisely," says the Bombay Chamber of Commerce report for 1864-65: "Two years ago a mania for share speculation broke out which continued to grow in intensity till it seemed to absorb the time and attention of the community. . . . Bombay was flooded with 'Financial Associations' and doubtful schemes of reclamation. Valuable works of reclamation of the greatest public utility in the course of construction, and sound banking institutions, were for a time partially discredited by the gambling that prevailed in their shares. When the mania was at its height, intelligence was received of the unexpected termination of the American Civil War, gambling speculation suddenly collapsed, and insolvency and bankruptcy followed on a scale of magnitude unknown in any other crisis of modern share speculation."

Companies sprang into existence which together with Government were ultimately responsible for the Apollo Bandar, Mody Bay, Elphinstone, Mazagon, Tank Bandar and Frere Reclamations on the east of the island and the Back Bay reclamation from Colaba to the foot of Malabar Hill on the west. The Mody Bay reclamation, extending from Carnac Bridge to the Mint, had been begun by Government several years previously in order to obtain a good site for the Commissariat stores and offices, but was never used for that purpose; and by 1865-66 one of the reclamation companies of this epoch had taken over the site, improved and enlarged it and provided the land required for the terminal station of the G. I. P. Railway. The total area reclaimed amounted to 84 acres and cost about 30 lakhs. In 1858 the Elphinstone Company

began operations by reclaiming about 22 acres of sea-ground and building godowns for merchandise and a cotton press. In 1862 the Company enlarged its scheme and between that date and 1871 it deposited 7 million cubic yards of material and laid out a land and dock estate. At the Apollo Bandar also reclamation of about 30 acres was undertaken. By this and similar works it has gradually come about that practically the whole of the Port Trust docks and estates are on reclaimed land. Mr. W. R. S. Sharpe summarizes that fact in his book "The Port of Bombay." "A considerable amount of this reclamation," he writes, "had been carried out by the Elphinstone Land Company and other smaller concerns—and to some extent by Government agency—prior to the constitution of the Port Trust in 1873. The whole area operated on by the Elphinstone Company was 386 acres but much of their gigantic scheme was still uncompleted when their properties were acquired by Government on behalf of the Port Trust.

"The reclamations carried to completion by the Trust during the first thirty years of its existence comprised 167 acres of foreshore land from Sewri Bunder in the north to Apollo Reclamation and the Colaba Bunders in the south. In 1908 the Trust embarked on the great Mazagon-Sewri Reclamation scheme, which was completed in 1912 and added 583 acres to the area of Bombay. Subsequent filling and reclamation work at Wadala, Tank Bunder and Colaba provided a further 310 acres. The total area of the Port Trust estates at the present date is 1,880 acres, or approximately one-eighth of Bombay City and Island. The completion of these vast projects has rendered ample land available, in and about the vicinity of the docks and bunders, for storage and industrial purposes connected with the activities of the port."

But, to go back to the 'sixties, the Back Bay Reclamation Company eclipsed the others in the magnitude of its project. Formed in 1863, it aimed at reclaiming 1,500 acres of the foreshore. In 1864 the Government of India permitted the Company to undertake the work which was proposed to be done by dry filling, that is the gradual driving back of the sea by earth dumped upon the foreshore. The work might have been brought to a successful conclusion had it not been for the failure of the Asiatic Banking Corporation which held 90 lakhs of the Company's money. As it was, a strip of land had been reclaimed—roughly the part west of Queen's road—which has proved of permanent value to the City.

A brief history of later projects of this kind is given in the Report of the Committee (under the chairmanship of Sir Grimwood Mears) appointed by the Government of India to enquire into the Bombay Back Bay Reclamation Scheme, 1926. That Report, from which the following history is taken or summarised, shows that in 1887, a justified belief in the growing importance of the city of Bombay induced the Government of Lord Reay to order an inquiry with a view to the preparation of a comprehensive scheme for dealing with its future extension in the interests of the health of its population and for the better accommodation of its increasing industries. In considering the question of the reclamation of Back Bay the Committee estimated that this could be achieved—again by dry filling—at a cost of about Rs. 7½ per square yard or at Rs. 9 for net building area. No work was, however, undertaken.

The subject was revived by the Government of Lord Sandhurst and another Committee was appointed to examine the proposals of the earlier Committee and to advise Government on the steps to be taken and the appropriate agency for improving the City in a comprehensive, reasonably rapid and economical manner. The Committee confined themselves mainly to the steps necessary for the opening out of congested areas in the City and their recommendations ultimately resulted in the creation of the City Improvement Trust. Reclamation was to be left to the Trust who were to decide on the manner and extent to which it should be done. They came to the conclusion that a reclaimed area on the west side of Colaba Point would be an extension of great benefit and would prove remunerative. The work was put in hand, and at the cost of a little over 5 lakhs (£37,500) nearly 90,000 square yards were added to the City. The financial forecast was correct, for the land (Cuffe Parade) was speedily taken up at rentals representing a capital value of 24 lakhs. At this time many other schemes were occupying the attention of the Trust with the result that they made no further attempt to repeat their initial success.

A Military Lands Committee contemplated in 1904 the reclamation of very extensive areas in Back Bay and on the harbour side of Colaba, but no actual work was undertaken.

A year later, the Bombay Public Works Department considered the possibility of reclaiming Back Bay. They prepared four alternative schemes, and it is of importance

and interest to notice that for the first time it was then proposed to reclaim by dredging from the Harbour and pumping the spoil through pipe lines laid across the City of Bombay.

In 1906 the same Department drew up a revised scheme for the winning of 973 acres from Back Bay and 121 acres from the Harbour side of Colaba Peninsula. They estimated the cost of the Back Bay project at Rs. 3.73 per square yard.

Thereupon Lord Lamington appointed a Committee to consider the scheme, and as a result of certain suggestions made by them it was estimated that the work in Back Bay would cost not 176 lakhs but 320 lakhs (£2,400,000).

The feasibility of a successful reclamation of Back Bay attracted in 1908 the attention of Messrs. Lowther & Company, a well-known firm of engineers. They prepared outline schemes of a very ambitious nature ; the first being the reclamation of an area of 3,576 acres at an anticipated cost of Rs. 7.10 per square yard and the second a smaller area of 2,945 acres at a slightly less cost. They corresponded with the Government of Bombay and in 1910 submitted two other alternative schemes which provided for the enclosure of 1,272 acres at a cost, inclusive of development, of Rs. 5.80 per square yard rising to 6.04 per square yard for a smaller area of 973 acres.

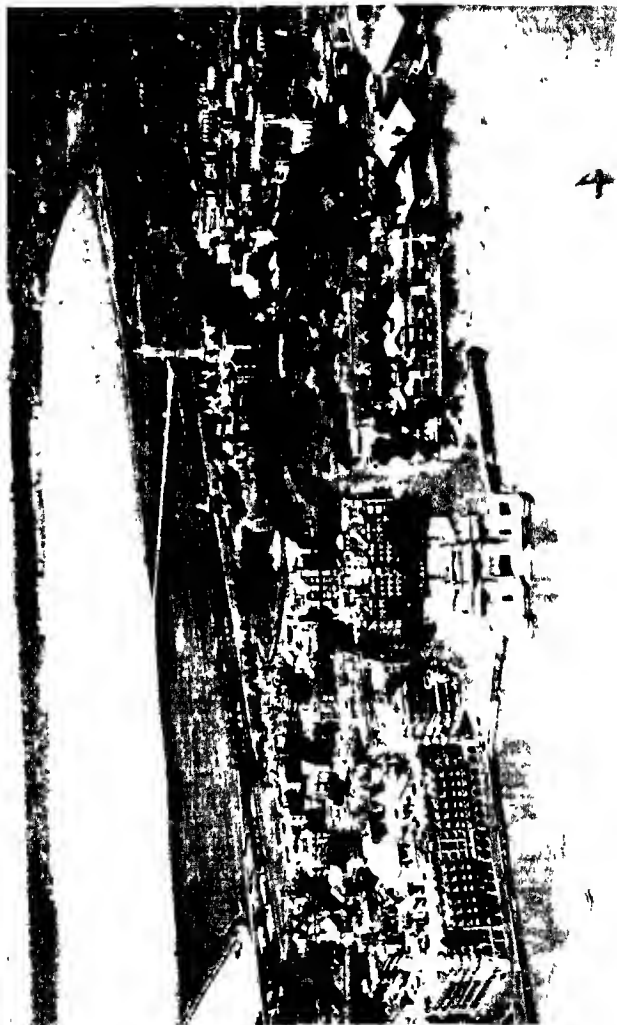
In 1911, the Government of Bombay addressed the Government of India, emphasising the urgent need for the provision of areas suitable for residential quarters and sites for public purposes and stated that, after extensive consultations with different interested bodies they placed reclamation in Back Bay in the forefront of the programme of urgently needed developments. They submitted the two schemes prepared by Messrs. Lowther and Kidd (the successors to Messrs. Lowther & Company). The first had for its object the reclamation of 973 acres as proposed by the 1907 Committee at a cost of 284½ lakhs, the debt being extinguished at the end of the 69th year. The second scheme provided for the reclamation of 1,272 acres at a cost of 388 lakhs, the debt being extinguished within a century. The Government of Bombay were disposed to consider that the best and most profitable scheme would probably be one having a gross area of about 1,100 acres. They stated that they were not in favour of granting a concession to a private company to reclaim the land and to lease it for a term of years, on the grounds that such an arrangement would not assist the Improvement Trust ; and they were of opinion

that a Company could not borrow money except at rates of interest which might jeopardise the success of the scheme or raise the price of the land reclaimed to an excessive figure; and further that Government would be debarred from that control over the operations which they considered essential.

To this communication the Government of India sent a cautious reply. They stated that the information furnished was insufficient to enable them to recommend the project to the Secretary of State as a productive work or to accept any responsibility—financial or otherwise—they emphasised that the money required for the scheme would have to be diverted from remunerative railway and irrigation projects, and they expressed an opinion, which experience has since justified, that they were not convinced that the carrying out of the work should be entrusted to the departmental agency of Government rather than to private enterprise working under Government control. They added two observations of great weight that "large estimates of this type were particularly liable to be exceeded and that even in Bombay experience of this type of reclamation on an open sea front was limited."

The Government of Bombay replied that the two tentative schemes were put forward with the object of proving that the reasons for believing that the work would be reproductive were sufficiently strong to justify expenditure on the more detailed investigation required for the preparation of a complete project. Mr. Kidd was then instructed to make the survey and in the report he subsequently made he described the work as one of "an exceptionally specialised character." He had a full belief in the feasibility of the scheme and in his ability to carry it through. He had complete confidence in the existence of sufficient material of a suitable character and he was satisfied that, with modern suction dredging plant of proper power, the material could be removed from the bed of the sea and pumped across the peninsula into an area of 1,145 acres enclosed by a sea wall. His estimate of the cost, after allowing 20 per cent. for possible increase in the current prices of plant and labour, was 325.23 lakhs (£2,439,225). On these figures the cost per square yard of the area when reclaimed was Rs. 5.86—about 8s. 9½d.

In submitting this estimate to the Government of India, the Bombay Government observed: "The investigations



The Gateway of India (in the foreground) of Lhasa, Tibet, in the middle the Lhasa Monastery
Hut (in the left) To the right the Lhasa Monastery (Buddhist) and the Lhasa Monastery (Buddhist)

have been most carefully made and may be accepted as exhaustive. The report is clear and complete; all doubtful points have been settled, and the revised estimates now forwarded may be accepted as completely trustworthy." They later forwarded the report of a Committee of representative citizens, appointed under the chairmanship of Sir Vithaldas D. Thakersey, who had been asked to advise on certain specific questions connected with the scheme. The Committee were unanimous in maintaining that reclamation was required to prevent overcrowding and the pressure of increasing rents. They thought that an average sale of 60,000 square yards per annum was a reasonable assumption, and that Rs. 25 per square yard selling price was a safe estimate. They recommended that the work should be undertaken immediately. But that was not done. Further discussions took place, but concentration on war activities delayed the further consideration of any scheme.

In 1917 a Syndicate of important and influential citizens interested themselves in the possibilities of reclamation. They were Sir Sassoon David, Sir Shapurji Broacha, Sir Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy, Sir Vithaldas Thakersey and Mr. (now Sir) Lallubhai Samaldas. They asked the Government of Bombay for a concession and proposed to form a company with the necessary capital. The history of the 17th century was repeating itself.

In the same month the firm of Messrs. Tata Company, Ltd., also sought a concession. Within a few weeks the Syndicate and Messrs. Tata joined forces, and their willingness to undertake the enterprise gave the project fresh impetus. It must have occurred to the Bombay Government that the readiness of these groups to embark their money and business reputation in the venture fortified their own opinion of its feasibility and ultimate financial success. The reclamation, if undertaken by the Local Government and successfully completed, would ease the congestion in the valuable business and residential area, would provide for open spaces which were urgently needed, and might yield a profit which could be used for the benefit of the poorer classes, whose conditions of life were at that time and are to-day a reproach to the city of Bombay. In the Report of the Bombay Development Committee (1914) it was stated that in the census of 1911 "out of the total population of 929,082, living

in 200,308 tenements, 743,247, *i.e.*, about 80 per cent. on the total population, live in 166,337 one-room tenements." Bad as this condition was in 1911, it became worse in 1917 and accentuated in 1919, by which date the population on a conservative estimate had risen to 1,400,000 with an almost complete absence of any corresponding increase in housing accommodation. In a despatch to the Governor of Bombay in 1917, Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State, noted with approval that the Governor of Bombay and the members of the Local Government had impressed upon millowners their obligation to provide for the housing of their operatives. He described the existing conditions as highly unsatisfactory and as calling for immediate and energetic action, and concluded: "The matter is one in which early action appears to be desirable, and I shall be glad to learn your views and those of the Bombay Government at an early date."

The salient points which emerge from the summary of the Back Bay schemes hitherto given are thus restated in the Report of the Grimwood Mears Committee. The proposal that reclamation work on a large scale should be undertaken by means of dredging virtually precluded any experiment on a small scale because of the initial cost of the plant required. The possibility of getting the work done by private enterprise was being held up by the very natural and proper desire of the Government of Bombay to receive for the public benefit a substantial share at any rate in the large profits anticipated as likely to accrue from the successful carrying out of the enterprise on a large scale. The Government of India obviously regarded the financing of such an enterprise out of public funds as an exceedingly difficult matter in the then existing state of public affairs. At the same time all parties were agreed as to the serious and increasing urgency of some action in relief of the housing congestion, and this urgency had particularly impressed itself upon the mind of the ultimate authority—the Secretary of State.

By October, 1918, the Government of Bombay (Lord Willingdon was still Governor. Sir George—now Lord—Lloyd arrived as Governor in December 1918) had decided to obtain the advice of an independent expert. They considered "a re-examination of Back Bay Reclamation Scheme a matter of special urgency" and asked that the "best qualified man" should be chosen and sent to Bombay.

Sir George Buchanan, an engineer of many years' experience who had been employed in the Rangoon river training scheme and in reorganising the port of Basra, was the expert chosen as a result of that application, and to him Lord Lloyd wrote in May, 1919 :—" All I am anxious for is to know as early as possible whether a Back Bay Scheme is feasible and, on present prices, is a desirable enterprise. If not, to abandon it finally and turn our energies into other directions, or, if it is found practicable, to get on with the job without another 10 days' discussion."

Sir George Buchanan was asked to examine and report upon Mr. Kidd's scheme for the reclamation of 1,145 acres in Back Bay and in particular specifically to advise upon its practicability from an engineering point of view, the suitability of the type of sea wall or alternative suggestions for a better type, the suitability of the proposed method of reclamation by means of dredging or alternative proposals for the same. He was also asked to prepare a revised estimate for the whole scheme giving details showing :—(a) the cost of dredging plant, (b) the cost of dredging, (c) cost of sea wall and plant, (d) cost of moorum filling (*i.e.*, dry filling) and plant required.

In addition he was to put forward a programme of construction with an opinion as to the order in which the work should be executed and the time within which the various sections could be completed, and lastly—as regards the Back Bay Reclamation—his views were asked as to whether the entire work should be given out as one complete contract or divided into a number of small contracts and whether it might not be advisable to carry out some items of the project or even the whole of it departmentally.

As a result of his report that the scheme was practicable from an engineering point of view, the work was undertaken, and undertaken moreover in a spirit of confidence. The Legislative Council were officially assured that " on a very modest estimate the result of the reclamation would be a profit of at least 30 crores of rupees (about 20 million pounds) to the city." That prediction was uttered in the early part of 1921 ; later on, when the undertaking was involved in difficulties, there were many who were wise after the event. But it should be remembered that the Back Bay scheme at first met with general approval. The Bill sanctioning it was carried

through all its stages in the Legislative Council without one dissentient vote.*

To carry out this scheme, and to undertake an industrial housing scheme of 50,000 one-roomed tenements for the working classes, as well as to develop Salsette, a Development Department was brought into being. Sir Lawless Hepper, who was appointed Director of Development, was Agent of the G. I. P. Railway: he knew Bombay intimately: "he had been further proved during the war by his work as the Local Controller of Munitions, and he stood," said Lord Lloyd, "exceptionally high in the estimation of the Government of India, and, what was also of great importance, he stood very high in the estimation of the public of Bombay." Before the formation of the Department†, Messrs. Meik and Buchanan had been appointed Consulting Engineers for the projects, plant had been ordered, and Mr. L. W. Lewis had been appointed Chief Engineer.

It is not necessary now to cite many of the critical findings of the Committee of Inquiry appointed in 1926. Parts of the general summary in that Committee's report are sufficient to indicate both the main causes of failure and the reasons why the scheme has been left unfinished. The object was to reclaim from the sea an area of 1,145 acres at an estimated outlay of about Rs. 367 lakhs. "Government were prepared to

*Modern critics of the scheme are apt to forget the conditions in which it was launched. There had been a state of affairs in Bombay that was not unlike the share mania of the sixties. The Indian Companies Restriction Act (XII of 1918) was repealed in September, 1919, and, as a result of the end of hostilities, a boom in company promotion at once set in, both in new industries and in the conversion of established concerns into limited companies. Two hundred and eight companies limited by shares were newly registered in Bombay during the year 1919-20. In the following year 180 new companies were newly registered and the decrease was explained by exchange disturbances, tightness of the money market and the failure of some of the companies floated in the previous year. In 1921-22 there were only 92 new public companies registered. The slump had set in. There was a rapid drop in share values and in land values.

In 1920 the Associated Building Company (Tatas) had paid the record price for land in Bombay. It bought at auction from the Municipality a plot of 2,365 square yards for Rs. 29 lakhs, or Rs. 1,230 a square yard. On this plot, in Bruce Street, stands Bombay House, built with a view to housing all Tatas' concerns under one roof.

† The objects with which the Department had been formed were, in the words of Lord Lloyd, the Governor, "to put the great port and City of Bombay in a position to handle its trade in the cheapest and most efficient manner so as to attract, on account of its cheap facilities, the maximum trade possible; to provide through this trade an ever-increasing quantity of work and wages for its labouring classes, and to secure that all classes and particularly the working classes shall have healthier and happier surroundings."

spend on the scheme up to Rs. 400 lakhs if necessary. A revised estimate for Rs. 702 lakhs was approved within two years of the original sanction, and if the scheme is to be completed, a second revision of the estimate will be necessary. The total cost will approximate to about 900 lakhs gross, exclusive of interest charges. This total sum will be reduced by the 256 lakhs to be received from the Military authorities and any other subsequent receipts from sales of land. The programme of the reclamation, which was to have been completed by 1926-27, has completely broken down. If it is continued under present conditions it cannot be finished for many years to come."

"It is believed that land reclaimed cannot in the near future be sold at remunerative prices, and care should be exercised not to reclaim land in advance of the demand. The work is being constructed from public loans on which interest and sinking fund charges have to be met and Government are faced with a growing debt.

"The difficulties in which the scheme is at present involved arise from :—

- (1) the unsatisfactory character of the estimates ;
- (2) defective organisation ;
- (3) the failure of the dredging operations ; and
- (4) the fall in land values.

"The defects in the various estimates would have been avoided if there had been sufficient and careful preliminary investigation. If an alternative comparative estimate for dry filling had been prepared at the outset and the cost of adequate dredging plant properly investigated, Government might have hesitated to commit themselves to the use of suction dredgers for this scheme. A dredging scheme costing Rs. 400 lakhs was an attractive financial proposition, but it might very well be considered to have changed its character when the cost went up to 702 lakhs. Reclamation by dry filling, if then practicable, might have proved cheaper.

"As regards the organisation and arrangements made for the conduct of the scheme, these in themselves were almost unworkable. . . . Because nobody believed himself responsible for the due execution of the work, unwise decisions were taken and mistakes made, such, for instance, as commencing the construction of the sea wall from both ends, delay in sealing

the rubble mound, undertaking dredging operations in Back Bay without consideration of cost, absence of preconceived programme to regulate operations, etc. All these militated against the success of the scheme and added to its cost.

"The inability of the dredger to give the required output has been the chief cause of failure and has had a disastrous effect on the financial prospects of the scheme.

"The work having been undertaken in anticipation of realising large profits, the scheme was subjected to very great criticism when a period of acute trade depression set in with a consequent fall in land values. The trade depression was not a matter which could have been foreseen, although caution was necessary in undertaking a scheme of this magnitude at a time when world conditions were unstable. With the disappearance of the prospect of profits public criticism concentrated on the defects of the scheme."

In accordance with the recommendations made by the Grimwood Mears Committee, and with the wishes of the Legislative Council, the Bombay Government decided for the present to confine operations in Back Bay to reclaiming two blocks Nos. 1 and 2 in the northern end of the area and blocks 7 and 8 in the southern, or Colaba, end, with a marine drive along the existing foreshore connecting blocks 2 and 7. The area under reclamation was thus reduced from 1145 to 552 acres. Subsequently the marine drive was eliminated from the programme. The total expenditure on the scheme up to March 31st, 1931, was Rs. 5,87,00,000, including the cost of the sea wall. That sum, however, does not include interest charges. Interest has always been paid out of revenue and the rate has fluctuated from year to year, but the amount has never been included in the expenditure.

The amount due from the Government of India on account of the sale of Block No. 8 was Rs. 2,12,00,000. That amount was adjusted and paid into provincial revenues before the close of the financial year 1929-30.

CHAPTER VI.—INDUSTRIES AND TRADE.

"The whole industrial and mercantile world is one great field for the tiller to till; and if the man who lives on the spot will not cultivate it with his own spade, then he has no right to blame the outsider who enters it with his plough." *Lord Curzon, in Calcutta, 1903.*

THERE is a wide variety of industries in Bombay, but many of them are of a kind common to every great seaport or to every Oriental town and for that reason need not here be particularly considered. A few of them are, however, of importance not only on their own account but because of the effect they have had on the growth of the Town.

In the early years of the British occupation of Bombay the main industries were agriculture, salt-making and fishing. It is not possible to indicate the extent to which the island was at any time self-supporting, but some of the Company's servants undoubtedly thought it feasible to reclaim land that would give a sufficient cultivable area to make Bombay independent of Salsette and the mainland. A considerable part of the island is still cropped with rice; and coconut and mango trees—though diminished in number since the opening up of Mahim woods by the construction of new roads—are still a source of considerable wealth.

Salt-making is still carried on to a small extent, and by a method which has changed but little in detail during the past 250 years or more. The fisheries too, which are of great financial and economic importance, are conducted on lines which seem to be almost unchanging. Experiments with a steam trawler in 1921 showed what a great wealth of edible fish there is that has yet to be popularised in the Bombay market. But the fishermen provide for a conservative public and still land their catch in mediæval style, and their women-folk carry it to market by head-loads with the fowls of the air pecking at it as they pecked at the bake-meats carried by Pharaoh's baker in his dream. Cold storage has been installed in the principal fish market: but Bombay, although it has a fishing population more alive to their opportunities and more daring than those of the other Presidencies, has still to wait for the modernisation of this industry.

One of the first industries to be established in Bombay was ship-building. In 1668 a man was sent out from England to supervise the Company's ship-building; but, in spite of some large ships having been built, no great progress was made until 1735 when Lavji Nasarwanji Wadia was brought from Surat as master-carpenter and told to open a trade in teak with the Bhils and other tribes in the forests of the mainland. The work of this great ship-builder proved to be so satisfactory that in 1754 the Court of Directors showed their appreciation of his "great industry and fidelity" by sending him a silver rule, a set of instruments and a shawl. The family also received grants of *inam* land. One of the family, Jamsetji Bomanji Wadia, was responsible for building for the Royal Navy, between the years 1805 and 1831, no less than 20 ships from 84-gun ships to 12-gun brigs, all of which were remarkable for their strength and sea-going qualities. The first ship launched for the Bombay Marine by this family was in 1735, the last in 1881.

The weaving industry, both cotton and silk, received great encouragement from the early years of the British occupation of Bombay. It was for weavers who had come from Chaul to Bombay that a street was to be built, in 1668, from the Custom House (north-west of the present Mint) to the Castle. A Surat letter to Bombay in 1676 urged the use of "all just means possible to invite and encourage weavers of all sorts to inhabit on the island." Rajapur cotton yarn was sent to Bombay "to be made into calicoes proper for England." From London in 1683 came a demand for "cotton knit stockings said to be made at Goa and Bombay which cost there about 12*d.* to 16*d.* per pair and some finer to 18*d.*" But despite the efforts made to attract weavers to the Island, and the repeated demands from London for a larger supply of Bombay stuffs which were found to sell well, the industry made no great progress during the eighteenth century. It was during that century too that England began to manufacture her own cloth, and it was raw cotton rather than cotton manufactures that she increasingly wanted from India. "The export of cotton manufactures from India to England began to decline and became quite insignificant soon after the opening of the nineteenth century. About the same time (1813) that the ports of India were thrown open to English merchant adventurers, protective duties of 70 and 80 per cent. were imposed in Great Britain on cotton and silk manufactures

from India, and some kinds of these goods were absolutely excluded. This was considered necessary to give a start to the new industry in England. English cotton goods now began to be imported into India and in the 20 years ending 1813 the export of British cotton manufactures to India had increased from £2,000 to £108,000."

The intricacies of that wide subject need not here be examined. But the circumstance that India was thus brought within what was known as the mercantilist system (by which England secured for herself the most important products of her overseas possessions and the right to supply those possessions with her manufactured goods) must be mentioned because Bombay was destined eventually to play no small part in resisting that trade policy. But it was not until 1854 that the foundation of Bombay's, and India's, industrial development was laid when the Bombay Spinning and Weaving Company, the pioneer spinning factory, was opened at Tardeo, thanks to the enterprise of Cowasji Nanabhoy Daver of Bombay, and Messrs. Platt Brothers of Oldham, who supplied the machinery. Mr. Daver followed this up with the Bombay Throstle Mill, and this induced Mr. Manekji Nasserwanji Petit in 1858 to project The Oriental Mill which worked so satisfactorily that it was converted into a Joint Stock Company. That Mill is notable for another reason.

Mr. S. M. Rutnagur has shown, in his book* "Bombay Industries: The Cotton Mills," that when Messrs. Merwanji Framji & Co. were appointed Secretaries, Treasurers and Agents of the Oriental Mill, in 1860, the foundation was laid of the Agency System in cotton mill management in Bombay which has existed up to the present time. But that system is not peculiar to the cotton mill industry or to Bombay. As the Indian Industrial Commission pointed out, the large agency firms not only participate in the import and export trade, "they finance and manage industrial ventures all over the country. The importance of these agency houses may be gauged from the fact that they control the majority of the cotton, jute and other mills, as well as of the tea gardens and the coal mines." In Bombay the system has had this peculiarity that there has been a concentration of mills under a small number of agencies. The Indian Tariff Board noted, for example, in 1927 that two firms of managing agents in

*Published by The Indian Textile Journal Limited.

Bombay were in control of 23 of the 83 mills in Bombay, and that, except for its undue conservatism and lack of initiative, the managing agency system could not be regarded as responsible for the depression existing at the time of its inquiry.

Other Mills were erected soon after the first of them had proved successful, but there was a cessation of building during the American Civil War, when everybody in Bombay appeared to devote himself to making money out of cotton exports to Lancashire and to gambling in shares. The value of cotton exports in 1860 was estimated at 5½ millions: the total of those exports during the five years of the American war came to 80 millions.

By 1870, when Bombay had recovered confidence after the debacle which immediately followed the end of the war, it was worth while to start building more Mills. Progress was steady. In 1885 there were 49 mills in the city with 1,347,400 spindles and 12,010 looms. Until then spinning in the Bombay Mills had been done on the mule or fly throstle; but the Ring Spinning Frame, which was tested by Mr. J. N. Tata at the Empress Mills, Nagpur, revolutionised the Bombay industry. Other innovations in machinery led Bombay millowners to renew their plant and still further to enlarge the industry, with the result that there were 70 mills working in 1895. The outbreak of plague and its persistence during the following decennium, combined with severe financial depression, greatly retarded progress. Nor were those the only adverse factors, for Japan, which had begun to build Mills, began competing with Indian yarn in the China markets. By 1915 there were 86 mills in Bombay, with nearly three million spindles and 51,900 looms. But—to quote Mr. Rutnagur again, “the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 and the stoppage of machinery shipments from Lancashire to India brought on a complete cessation in mill building in Bombay for several years, and even after peace was declared the heavy increase in the cost of land and building prevented the erection of new factories.” Only one new Mill was put up between 1915 and 1925, although many of them were extended. “Japanese competition and other trade conditions compelled Bombay millowners to look out for new markets and spin higher counts and weave a greater variety of cloth and otherwise improve their production by bleaching, finishing and dyeing. Thus while the additional mills between 1905 and 1925 numbered only 9, they have been replete with the most up-to-date improvements and

include the well-known concerns under the agency of Messrs. Nowrosji Wadia & Sons, W. H. Brady & Co., Ltd., Currimbhoy Ebrahim & Sons, Ltd., James Finlay & Co., Ltd., and Tata Sons, Ltd."

At the end of 1931 the position of the industry was summarised as follows :—

Spindles	2,702,848.
Looms	62,748.
Cotton consumed	8,30,388 bales of 392 lbs.
Yarn spun	677,266 bales of 400 lbs.
Cloth woven	967,586,025 yards
Average number of hands employed	129,057.

The vicissitudes through which the industry has passed are briefly indicated by Mr. S. D. Saklatvala in his "History of the Millowners' Association, 1875-1930." He shows that the Association was brought into being after the Manchester Chamber of Commerce had memorialised the Secretary of State urging the necessity for abolishing the Indian import duties on yarn and piecegoods on the ground that those duties were protective in their nature. It was thought that "Lancashire's real object was to prevent, or at least to obstruct, the further growth of the Textile Industry in India," and the Association was formed—from members of all communities concerned, European and Indian—"for the promotion and protection of trade, commerce and manufactures of India in general and of the cotton trade in particular." It was due to the efforts of this Association, stoutly backed by the Governor, Sir Leslie Wilson, that the Cotton Excise Duty was suspended by the Viceroy in 1925 and then abolished. That duty was "a historic wrong which, apart from its detrimental effects on the industry, had for 30 years rankled in the minds of the people of India as a humiliating affront to their sense of national dignity and self-respect." It was only after three years of intensive propaganda that the Millowners' Association was able to bring about the abolition of the Excise Duty : it took more than six years to obtain any sort of protection for the industry. Japanese competition, both in China and in India, had been denounced from the early post-war years. In 1923, for instance, Sir Joseph Kay in his presidential address to the Millowners' Association said : "Far Eastern mills have

indulged in over-production ; worked their mills to the utmost capacity ; and have overtraded, thus helping to demoralise our own markets in their desire to find an outlet for their manufactured goods. I think this matter should occupy the attention of those who are going to be responsible for applying the now accepted principle of protection with discrimination." Japanese competition had to become a great deal more intense before Government could be persuaded to act. Commenting on the passage of the Cotton Textile Industry (Protection) Act, 1930, through the Legislative Assembly, Mr. S. D. Saklatvala writes that it was due entirely to the initiative taken by the Millowners' Association that the Government of India appointed Mr. G. S. Hardy, I.C.S., to inquire into the conditions of the cotton textile industry. The claim for protection was amply borne out by Mr. Hardy's findings, which obtained further support from the demand made by representatives of the industry from all parts of India. The Bill that was eventually introduced sought to introduce a revenue duty of 15 per cent. on all cloth and a protective duty for three years of five per cent. on non-British goods with a minimum of $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas per pound on plain greys. The Bill was passed after a good deal of controversy over the principle of preference to British goods, controversy made all the more acute by the fact that the Congress party had for some time been successfully preaching the boycott of foreign piece-goods. The boycott of foreign goods has almost killed the piece-goods import trade ; but one point made by Mr. Saklatvala should not be forgotten. " We must not," he wrote, " forget the great help rendered to the industry when in its infancy by Lancashire. Whatever may be said about the motives or methods of Lancashire cotton manufacturers, the fact remains that the Indian cotton mill industry has greatly benefited by the help of English machinists in supplying not only machinery but able men to work the machines and train up Indians in initial stages."

It is because Bombay is literally the Gateway of India that its trade has become of the greatest importance. In the pre-Portuguese days Thana and Callian were of greater account as ports than Bombay ; and under the Portuguese the trade of Bombay was slight, being confined to the sale of dried fish and coconuts to neighbouring coast towns. Under the rule of Governor Aungier much progress was made, various goods were imported from England and Aungier, who saw visions of a great and expanding trade, was far more optimistic than his

masters in London who, in 1677, remarked that commercial expansion was "in posse and to be prayed for." The transfer of the Company's headquarters from Surat to Bombay in 1687 naturally promoted the trade of the Island and further progress would have been made but for the hostility of the Mughals, Marathas and Portuguese, and the rivalry of the London and the English East India Companies which continued until 1708 when the union of the two companies took place. After that union a new system of trade was introduced : the Company's goods were from that time conveyed in hired ships and the Company only kept "some swift sailing packets and a very few trading vessels." The distribution of the Company's goods in the interior of India was left to Indian dealers, and agents were employed for the purchase of goods for export. Warehouses or factories were built and fortified as places of deposit, and the European agents made advances to the Indian weavers while engaged on the cloth that was required. The trade remained in the exclusive possession of the Company until 1813, private persons being only permitted to trade with the Company's licence. The Company's servants, however, had the privilege of trading on their own account. From this system Bombay profited steadily throughout the eighteenth century—more indeed than did the Company—and it had dependent on it the Company's factories at Bushire, Cambay, Honora, Calicut, Bankote and Tatta (in Sind). In 1753, for example, "some very considerable bankers from Aurangabad and Poona" opened business in the island, attracted to it by the fact that Bombay had become the centre of trade between Western and Upper India and between the Malabar Coast, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. In 1757 Ives described the town as the most flourishing in the world, "the grand store-house of all Arabian and Persian commerce," while another writer of that time speaks of the sale of woollens and other European goods to the extent of 14 lakhs a year. Nine years later (1766) Forbes described the merchants of Bombay as trading with all the principal seaports and inland cities of India and as extending their commerce to the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, the coasts of Africa, Malacca and China and the eastern islands. A temporary check to the tide of prosperity was witnessed in 1776 when the Marathas intervened and prevented goods of considerable value from being sold ; but the disturbed condition of the mainland eventually resulted in driving fresh relays of merchant folk to Bombay, who contributed to the increase

of trade, animadverted upon by Forbes in 1783 and by Franklin in 1786. At the opening of the nineteenth century, when a Reporter of External Commerce was appointed for the record of details of Bombay trade, Bombay appeared to Milburn "to bid fair to be the most durable of all the English possessions in India." By the close of the third decade of the eighteenth century Bombay's commerce was in a most flourishing condition. Forbes described the port between 1766 and 1770 as one of the finest marts in India, employing a large number of vessels. Basra, Muscat, Ormuz and other ports in the Persian Gulf furnished it with pearls, raw silk, carmenia wool, dates, dried fruits, rosewater and attar; Arabia supplied it with coffee, gold, drugs and honey; while a number of ships annually freighted with cotton and bullion for China returned laden with tea, sugar, porcelain, wrought silk, nankins, and a variety of useful and ornamental articles. The cotton trade with China began about 1770.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century a few European firms were established in Bombay, although the Company and its servants had the pick of the trade. In 1805, according to Milburn, there were: European houses of agency—Bruce Fawcett & Co., Forbes & Co., Shotton & Co., John Leckie, S. Beaufort. Wine Merchants and Shopkeepers—Baxter Son & Co., John Mitchell & Co., Wooller & Co., R. M'Lean & Co. There was only one insurance office, the Bombay Insurance Society, but much underwriting was done by private persons. In addition to these European firms there were 16 leading Parsi firms, two Parsi China agencies, three Portuguese, four American, 15 Hindu, and four Bohra firms. Mrs. Elwood (in her "Overland Journey," 1830) states that the retail trade was principally in Parsi hands.

In 1813 a Bill was carried through Parliament abolishing the exclusive trade of the Company with India (but securing to it the monopoly of the trade with China for 20 years longer) which resulted, so far as Bombay was concerned, in developing the export trade in raw cotton to England and in killing the export trade in piecegoods. In 1833-34*, when the last trace of the Company's commercial supremacy was about to

*In 1836 the Bombay Chamber of Commerce was established, chiefly owing to the exertions of Mr. John Skinner, and with the support of the following firms: Messrs. Skinner & Co., William Nicol & Co., Duncan Gill & Co., Leckie & Co., Gisborne, Menzies & Co., Ritchie, Steuart & Co., MacVicar, Burn & Co., McGregor Brownrigg & Co., Dirom, Carter & Co., Gillanders, Ewart & Co., and Firth & Co.



THE CATHEDRAL AND COTTON CLIFF, NOW LIPPHINSTONE CHURCH

By permission of the Captain General, in the City of G. Rec

disappear, the total trade of the Island was less than seven crores : by 1858-59 it had remarkably increased.

	BOMBAY IMPORTS.		BOMBAY EXPORTS.	
	1833-34.	1858-59.	1833-34.	1858-59.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Merchandise ..	2,66,74,031	11,69,42,181	4,05,88,135	14,36,44,235
Horses	6,44,425	26,25,000	2,51,190	Nil.
Treasure	1,19,90,127	6,42,48,229	19,50,512	1,58,64,590

Before that development had taken place there had been many changes in Bombay. There had been notable progress in communications with the outside world and with the interior of India. Trade too had taken fresh courses. The old system of houses of agency, gradually disappeared in favour of joint stock banks, of which the earliest, the Bank of Bombay, was opened in 1840. The *Bombay Times* of April 15th, 1840, remarked that " the Bank of Bombay opens for business this day, three years and nearly four months having elapsed since the first subscription to it, and after surmounting a series of such difficulties and obstacles, as we believe no similar institution ever encountered before and such as we may safely predict no institution for the public good will encounter again." The difficulties attending the opening of this Bank, however, appear to have exercised no check upon the formation of similar institutions ; for in 1842 the Bank of Western India was established and by 1860 several others had gained an assured position.

Shortly afterwards came the " Share Mania " arising from the great increase of the cotton trade during the Civil War in America. The outbreak of the Civil War in America, which at once cut off the supply of American staples, is calculated by Maclean " to have given to Bombay roughly 81 millions sterling in five years over and above what she had in former years as a fair price for her cotton." " Allowing," says he " a liberal margin for errors of valuation at the Custom House, we may compute the clear addition to the wealth of Bombay at 70 to 75 millions sterling—a tolerably substantial foundation for speculators to build upon. An unexampled

exportation of cotton continued as long as the war lasted." "The produce of all the great cotton fields of India, Nagpur, Berar, Gujarat and the Southern Maratha Country," wrote Sir Richard Temple, "found its way to Bombay in order to be exported to England with all possible despatch, while the high prices ruled and the blockade of the South American ports lasted. So sudden was the demand, so high the range of price, so vast the profits, that an economic disturbance set in. Money seemed to lose its purchasing power, the prices of almost all articles rose simultaneously and the wages of labour were enhanced in proportion." Everybody in Bombay seemed to be suddenly obsessed with the idea of quickly getting rich. As the war dragged on there seemed to be no limit to Bombay's prosperity: banks, financial associations, companies of every description and for almost every conceivable purpose, were promoted in quick succession. Shares went on allotment to an incredible premium. But all other speculation was dwarfed by the magnitude of the Back Bay Reclamation project, which was designed in the first place to provide the land on the shore of Back Bay along which the B. B. & C. I. Railway now runs, and afterwards to use the residue of the ground reclaimed for the purpose of providing sites for marine residences. The value of land had been trebled and quadrupled in Bombay, the population was daily increasing in numbers, and as the available space within the island was very little, every additional foot tacked on seemed likely to be worth its weight in gold. Fierce opposition was made to the grant to a private company of so valuable a concession; and the Bombay Government, which had determined to make something for itself out of the rage for speculation by taking a number of Back Bay shares, was forced by the Government of India to abandon such a partnership. The astute promoters of the company then sold these shares by public auction, the brokers ran them up to Rs. 25,000 a share on Rs. 4,000 paid up, or more than 600 per cent., and this sale may be said to have sent the city quite mad. With the end of the war the crash came and the whole edifice of imagined prosperity collapsed. The story has been graphically told by Sir Dinshah Wacha—in "A financial chapter in the history of Bombay City"—who records that "The Bank of Bombay lost all its capital save a few lakhs which returned to the ruined shareholders about a hundred Rupees for every five hundred Rupees but which were once quoted at nearly 3,000 Rupees. Of the numerous banks many gave only a fraction

of fractions as the return of capital, while the mushroom financials, save half a dozen, paid nothing. Some of them had to make a heavy call on the contributories. The Back Bay Company against a paid-up capital of 5,200 Rupees, with a premium at a maximum of 50,000, returned 1,750 Rupees per share. From these facts some idea of the enormity of the colossal losses may be gathered. And as to the huge bankruptcies, it has been estimated that the liabilities of only 24 such amounted to 19 crores, while the liabilities of others came to 7 crores, or 26 crores in all. The crisis, however, cured Bombay of its malady, with this net result that on the *detritus* of 1865 there has been reared, after the liquidating process had been completed by 1872, a new fabric of credit, commerce and industry, on a sound foundation and of a most substantial character."

In that new and restored fabric of credit the reconstructed Bank of Bombay occupied a commanding place: it, with the other two Presidency Banks, was eventually merged in the Imperial Bank in 1921. Before that reconstruction took effect in the 'sixties the Mercantile Bank, the Chartered Bank and the National Bank of India had all established branches in Bombay, and they were in due course followed by many others. The rapid development of joint stock banks in India, which has been a marked feature in banking in India within recent years, had its origin in Bombay and started with the establishment of the Bank of India and the Indian Specie Bank in 1906. After that there was a stream of new flotations, which the most important was the Central Bank of India; the failure of the People's Bank of India and of the Specie Bank, and later of the Alliance Bank of Simla, constituted a severe check to banking enterprise not only in Bombay but throughout India.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the export trade of Bombay was chiefly confined to the United Kingdom and to Asiatic countries, but after 1870 other European countries, headed by France, began to acquire an increasing share. One result of this was the establishment of a considerable foreign colony in what was already a cosmopolitan city. It was too from about 1870 onwards that Japan and China, the two great centres for Bombay exports, began to establish the trade which formed one of the chief foundations of Bombay's prosperity for some years. The establishment of spinning and weaving mills in Japan not only led to the final loss of that market for Bombay but eventually to Japan becoming

a formidable competitor in the Indian market. But trade with China and Japan had before then been severely hit by the effects of closing the Indian Mints to the free coinage of silver in 1893. "Never before perhaps in the history of modern trade"—writes Mr. S. D. Saklatvala in "The History of the Millowners' Association"—"has legislation had a more disastrous and immediate effect on an important and well-established industry. With the certainty and precision of an automatic machine, business for China and Japan was for the time being absolutely suspended, as not only were new orders rendered impracticable by an immediate fall of 12 to 15 per cent. in the nominal rate of exchange, but it was impossible to finance previous operations, the banks refusing to buy bills on any terms. It says much for the sound condition of the industry in Bombay, that it was able to withstand such a sudden strain without an utter collapse, and much also for the energy and ability with which the crisis was encountered by those in charge of the industry. Agents and owners of mills, availing themselves of the organisation at once set themselves to meet the crisis by effecting economies in working and obtaining reductions in freights, etc. This action of Government, by the dislocation enforced between silver and the rupee, gave a premium to Chinese and Japanese spinners who did not fail to utilise the opportunity to their advantage."

The development of the industries and trade of the City naturally cannot be considered without paying some attention to its communications. It has been said that Bombay owes almost everything to reclamations; it might equally well be said that it owes almost everything to its harbour and to the great port which has been constructed. Mr. W. R. S. Sharpe, in his book on "The Port of Bombay," shows that a hundred years ago Bombay possessed no wet docks and writers of that period who eulogised the then existing facilities for shipping as "the most noble, permanent and useful works of the British in India" were referring to the Government dry docks, five in number and constructed at intervals between 1748 and 1811, the largest having a capacity of 286 feet by 63 feet, with a depth of 23 feet. There was also a small dry dock at Mazagon and two others were constructed there on behalf of the P. & O. and B. I. Steam Navigation Companies between 1845 and 1867. The need for wet docks was emphasised in the early part of the century but it was not until 1875 that Bombay's first wet dock, the Sassoon Dock, at Colaba, was opened to

traffic. By that time the opening of the Suez Canal (in 1869) had begun to revolutionize the maritime trade of Bombay and to convert it into the imperial port of India.

Before the Canal had been opened this overland carriage of mails had for some years been in force and it is pleasant to recall that Lieut. Thomas Waghorn, the pioneer of that enterprise, received more support from Bombay than from other parts of India. The first steamship to operate in Bombay waters was the "Hugh Lindsay" of 411 tons (named after the then Chairman of the East India Company) which was built in Bombay, launched in October, 1829, and sailed on her maiden voyage to Suez on March 20th, 1830. She took 33 days over the voyage—12 days being occupied in coaling—and the mails despatched by her reached England in 19 days, establishing a record. Her second voyage from Bombay to Suez was accomplished in 22 days. In 1838 regular monthly communication between Bombay and England by the overland route, *via* Suez and Alexandria, was established, the duration of the voyage being from 43 to 46 days. By 1843 Bombay had been brought within 30 days of London and two years later a fortnightly mail service was introduced, the route being alternately *via* Suez and *via* Colombo. The connexion of the P. & O. Company with Bombay dates from the 'thirties, but more particularly from 1840, when it obtained a charter for the conveyance of the mails on condition that it established steam communication with India within two years. The first of its steamships to pass through the Canal was the "Delhi" in 1870; but the mail service was carried by the Alexandria-Cairo-Suez route until 1888 when the P. and O. "Carthage" was the first mail boat to pass through the Canal.

The decision to constitute a Trust to administer the affairs of the Port of Bombay originated in the fear of Government that trade interests were seriously endangered by the monopoly of private companies in landing and shipping facilities of the Port. The chief of these concerns was the Elphinstone Land and Press Company which had carried out extensive reclamations on the western foreshore of the harbour. It was bought out in 1869 and an Act constituting the Port Trust was passed in 1873. Immediately the new Trust was formed its administrators embarked with energy on the task of providing adequate wet dock accommodation. As cargo and passenger vessels grew in size and draft, so larger docks and more powerful equipment were added, with commendable forethought for the

growing and ever-changing needs of trade. Bombay can indeed look back with pride on all that has been accomplished in this respect during the past half century. Three capacious wet docks have been constructed, with a basin area of 105 acres, six lined miles of quayage and ample transit shed and warehouse accommodation ; two dry docks have been provided—the largest 1,000 feet in length and 100 in width ; a port railway has been laid down and organised ; a huge area of the Harbour shallows has been reclaimed and laid out for storage and industrial purposes, and a host of collateral works executed. The large increase in the size of the vessels, particularly in draft, within recent years had, at great expense, to be met in the shape of deeper approach channels, tidal berths and wet docks. The total capital expenditure since the constitution of the Trust up to 31st March, 1932, has been Rs. 24 crores and the debt charges now amount to Rs. 1,29,00,000 yearly. The present arrangements for landing and storing goods are well ahead of the times and enable ships of any size to be discharged, loaded and turned round easily and quickly. Between five and six million tons of cargo are handled yearly over the quays and on a busy day as much as 28,000 tons of imports and exports are dealt with. Bagged cargo has been discharged from one ship at the rate of 182 tons per hour and general exports at an average of 166 tons per hour.

The landward communications of Bombay scarcely existed before the beginning of the nineteenth century, and it is almost impossible now to realise the conditions in which trade with the mainland, and more particularly with the Deccan, was carried on before railways were built in this country. After the campaign of Assaye in 1803, the Bhore Ghat road was made practicable for artillery and a good road was built, by Arthur Wellesley's orders, from the top of the Ghat to Poona. Much of that improvement was subsequently undone by the Peshwa, but when Bishop Heber walked up the Ghat in 1825 he wrote that the road—which had been remade by orders from Mountstuart Elphinstone—was " still broad and good but in ascent very steep, so much so, indeed, that a loaded carriage, or even a palanquin with anybody in it, can with great difficulty be forced along itall merchandize is conveyed on bullocks and horses." Sir John Malcolm, who succeeded Elphinstone as Governor, considered that the noblest achievement of his time in Bombay was that he finished the work of making a good road up the



Port of the docks built by the Port Trust in the Port of Alexandria

Ghat. He was able to drive down it. One of his successors, Sir Bartle Frere, in 1863, at the opening of the railway up the Ghat, recalled that when he first saw the Ghat there was a mail cart—the only one in India—from Bombay to Poona : “ but it was some years later before the road was generally used for wheeled carriages—long droves of pack bullocks had still exclusive possession of the road.”

The other road up the Ghats was even less convenient. Mr. J. J. Berkley, who was for some time Chief Resident Engineer of the G. I. P. Railway, wrote in 1857 an account of the Agra Road from Bombay up the Thul Ghat. “ In the dry season I should have described it as a mountain track cleared through a dense unhealthy and unpeopled jungle, with only here and there a bridge across its streams, ankle deep in dust, rugged and unsafe from the large rock boulders that projected upon its surface, with but a very scanty supply of water to meet the demands of an enormous bullock traffic during the parching months of the hot season, offensive to travellers from the dead and dying cattle along its sides and dangerous to them from periodical epidemics, while in the monsoon, it was clogged with mud and severed and rendered impassable by mountain torrents.”

“ It has been a journey of two days for travellers, and of three for goods, to traverse the 48 miles of this so-called Great Agra Road.” Such were the conditions of travel over the Western Ghats, when men began boldly to talk of constructing railways across them. When John Chapman, founder of the G. I. P. Railway Company, began in the early 'forties to devote himself to this subject, he was met with incredulity and ridicule. Even when a provisional committee had been formed, it was impossible in England to raise £ 2,400 to send him to India except by giving the contributors an enormous contingent interest to induce them to encounter the risk. Then when he came to India he found, in 1845, that “ as to the passage of the Great Western Ghats by railway.... its possibility was positively and very generally denied ; while, in deference to an equally rife and decided opinion, that natives would never travel by railway, I found it necessary, in forming the estimates of traffic, to leave out of account every shilling we might hope to derive from the conveyance of passengers.”

When once—according to Mr. Chapman—the question had become “ When shall railways be made ? ” instead of

" Shall they be made ? " there arose a spirited controversy as to the route to be followed up the Ghats. Mr. Chapman strongly favoured a route *via* Sion, Thana, and the Malsej Ghat (which is roughly midway between the Thul and the Bhore Ghats) ; and his chief opponent was Col. C. W. Grant, of the Bombay Engineers, who was for crossing the harbour in steam ships and starting inland from Inora Bandar, on the island of Caranja, *via* the Bhore Ghat to Poona. Eventually the Bhore Ghat route was chosen for the main southeastern line of railway from Bombay.

The G. I. P. Railway Company was incorporated by an Act of 1849, and the line from Bombay to Thana was opened in 1853. The three termini at Nagpur, Jubbulpore and Raichur were respectively reached in 1867, 1870 and 1871. The inauguration of the electrified main line section of the G. I. P. Railway from Kalyan to Poona took place in November, 1929. It is the first main line of track to be electrified in India. This scheme involved the elimination of the Bhore Ghat Reversing Station, which had been seriously considered on several occasions in the past, but it was not until 1923, when electrification had been definitely decided upon, that final survey operations became operative. It is believed that this railway now has the greatest length of electrified miles in the British Empire.

The B. B. & C. I. Railway Co., which was incorporated in 1855, started operations not in Bombay but in Gujarat, the first section of line, from Amroli to Ankleshwar, being opened in 1860. It was not until the end of 1864 that the main line between Ahmedabad and Bombay was completed. Its suburban lines have been electrified since 1928.

The development of the port of Bombay led to the formulation of several fantastic proposals, particularly during the progress of the Crimean war when the demand for wet dock accommodation for merchant vessels began to be loudly voiced. Three schemes that were advanced and came to nothing deserve to be recorded.

The first of these emanated in 1856, from Mr. W. Walker, Storekeeper of the G. I. P. Railway. He maintained that what Bombay wanted was not docks but deep water piers. He proposed that a dry pitched sea-wall should be built from Belvidere Bay, Mazagon, broad enough to carry a double line of rails, to Cross Island and thence in a direct line to

Middle Ground Shoal from which point the wall would curve inwards to Bummalow Island, immediately to the south of Arthur Bandar, Colaba. The entrance for ships was to be 80 feet broad, furnished with a swing bridge, opposite the Dock-yard ; and there were to be arched openings at intervals in the wall to allow the tide a free current so as to guard against silt deposit. But Major-General Waddington, Chief Engineer of Public Works, who had to report on the scheme, could do no more than agree that Mr. Walker might claim for his project that it was bold, comprehensive and not wanting in invention and originality. Mr. Walker, he wrote, was "wonderfully regardless of the difficulties to be encountered," and he added in one final spasm of condemnation : "The scheme is false in principle, and if, false as it is, it were likely to find acceptance and be carried out, I should not hesitate to predict its utter failure, in the most assured faith of the certain fulfilment of my prediction."

Two or three years later another pier scheme was put forward, this time by Mr. D. J. Kennelly, Second Assistant Dock Master. His scheme was for a pier to be constructed with open wrought iron screw piling, from Carnac Bandar to the Middle Ground Shoal (14,100 feet) where a breakwater, 2,850 feet long, of iron piles and stones, was to be built across the shoal at right angles to the pier. Ships requiring to unload would be berthed on the outer or East side of the pier, while those to be loaded would be berthed on the in-shore side of the pier.

It is obvious that the adoption of either of those two projects would have completely altered the appearance of the harbour, but they would not have changed the face of Bombay in the way contemplated by the Bombay Dock and Land Reclamation Co. Ltd. in 1860. This Company prefaced the announcement of its scheme by remarking that earlier projects for levelling Malabar Hill and filling up Back Bay would be very costly, but "if docks are excavated in Back Bay we have the material for reclamation without touching Malabar Hill." The docks, as thus planned by Mr. Robert Fairbairn, C.E., were to occupy the inner part of Back Bay and were to be entered by a canal cut from Oyster Rock through Colaba, or by a channel to the S.W. of Malabar Point. On the seaward side of the docks the Bay was to be reclaimed up to a line from Malabar Point to Colaba Point. The statistics of the scheme are staggering: water area of docks,

581 acres ; length of quay and wharf walls, 17 miles ; land to be reclaimed apart from the docks, about half the area of Back Bay ; total cost $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores. "The most sceptical," said the prospectus, "cannot stigmatise the scheme as hazardous, the most lukewarm cannot deny the greatness and magnificence of the undertaking as a work of commercial and national importance." Mr. Fairbairn's scheme was subsequently adopted by the Elphinstone Dock Co., Ltd., which pronounced it to be "based upon principles which render the undertaking free from risk or speculation ;" but it seems to have disappeared from view before 1864-65 when the primary object of reclaiming Back Bay was to produce not docks but land, both for building purposes and to accommodate the B. B. & C. I. Railway.

CHAPTER VII.—GROWTH OF THE TOWN.

A great city, whose image dwells in the memory of man, is the type of some great idea."—*Coningsby*.

THE development of the mill industry in Bombay has affected the city in a number of ways. It has in the first place brought the city wealth and it has given employment to a large number of immigrants from the neighbouring agricultural districts. That is obvious. On the other hand it has enormously added to difficulties of housing the working classes such as are inevitable from the growth of a great industrial city, and, through being uncontrolled in its beginning, has led to such undesirable results as the haphazard building of factories. Arthur Crawford, most gifted and most explosive of Municipal Commissioners, foresaw in the 'seventies what was coming; but he failed to stop it, proclaiming in vain that no factories of any kind should thenceforth be built south of Elphinstone road. Dyeworks, a tannery, a bone-crushing mill, a sulphuric acid factory—all were alleged by him to have been established in the City. "Last but not least"—the quotation is from a fiery pamphlet written in Crawford's old age—"Bhoys and Dasses, Shcnvis, Brahmins and all the Jees set up cotton and spinning mills anywhere their sweet will prompted them: for example, close to the Byculla Club itself, around the Old Race Course, Kamathipoora, Foras Road, in Khetwady on Girgaum Road, and at Chowpaty. Thus, sanctioned and connived at by the City Fathers, a huge "Cottonopolis" is filling up rapidly what within twenty years will be the heart of the native town. 'All this in open defiance of all laws of sanitation in open contravention of the Municipal Act I of 1865."

But that state of affairs is not peculiar to Bombay. The Royal Commission on Labour pointed out in 1931 that, although each industrial centre in India may present a distinctive problem, "probably the most important common feature has been the lack of control over the selection of sites intended for industrial development and the consequent additional overcrowding, caused by the presence of large

numbers of immigrant workers seeking accommodation in the heart of towns already suffering from a shortage of houses."

The cotton textile industry and the cotton export trade affected the growth of the city in other ways also. In the early days of the trade, cotton brought into Bombay was stored and dealt with on the "Cotton Green" in the Fort, an area which is now more or less covered by Elphinstone Circle; but that caused congestion within the narrow limits of the Fort and, in 1844, a new site at Colaba was taken into use as the Cotton Green. At that time, in the absence of railways and of roads outside Bombay, nearly all the cotton was brought by sea—the Gujarat and Central India cotton from Dholera, Broach and Surat, the Southern Deccan and Malabar cotton from Kumta and other ports. At Colaba it was easily landed and as easily loaded on to boats from the ships that lay in the harbour. But the construction of railways, only one of which ran to Colaba, the building of docks at a distance from the Cotton Green, and the multiplication of mills in the centre and north of the Island, meant that cotton often had to be carted into Colaba and almost invariably to be carted away, with an increase of expense and serious congestion of traffic caused by the long files of bullock carts cutting across the town. It became increasingly obvious that a change of locality was necessary in the interest of the cotton trade as well as of the City itself, and this change was finally achieved in 1923, having been made possible by the Port Trust having reclaimed a large extent of land between Sewri and Mazagon. The subsequent removal of the Colaba terminus of the B. B. & C. I. Railway—when a new long distance terminus (designed by Messrs. Gregson, Batley and King) was opened at Byculla in 1930—made it possible for a large area formerly occupied by the Colaba Cotton Green and the railway to be developed as a "residential quarter."

The transfer of the Cotton Green to the Mazagon-Sewri reclamation was only one of several industrial developments which completely changed the eastern side of the Island. The series of reclamations carried out by the Port Trust formed the first step in that change: the second was the building of the Port Trust Railway, which, though only $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length from Wadala Junction to Ballard Pier, comprises over 110 miles of main lines and sidings. This Railway, opened at the beginning of 1915, has practically meant the end of the old method by which the bulk of the import and export traffic



View of the settlement from the hill



The destruction on the eastern side of the town (Bismah Shell & pyrite)

was conveyed from ship to rail and *vice versa* in bullock carts ; and, since it serves a large area of land that was unencumbered when the lay-out of the line was planned, it has attracted a number of storage depots. Of these the Cotton Depot, with an area of 127 acres, is only one. To the East of it is the Grain Depot for the reception, storage and shipment of grain and seeds—one of the most important features in Bombay's export trade. Farther north are the Manganese and Coal Depots. But the area of 80 acres or so allotted to the Grain Depot is big enough to admit other industries, such as the great chemical and dye-stuff Corporations, the Imperial Chemical Industries (India) Ltd., and the Havero Trading Company who occupy sheds for the storage and distribution of their products.

A wholly new feature in the industrial life of Bombay is also to be found in the Grain depot. In 1928, after completing a survey of the principal ports of India, which comprised a very exhaustive investigation of availability of premises, convenience of sites, rail, steamer and road distribution facilities, distances from source of supply, port charges and so on, the General Motors' representatives decided that Bombay provided more satisfactory answers to their needs than any other Indian port, and it was, therefore, decided that the Assembly Plant of General Motors India Ltd. should be situated here. It was found that the Grain Depot at Sewri contained types of sheds that could be easily converted into the kind of buildings required, and that their situation, with the excellent railway facilities, both in conveying goods from the docks and from the factory to all points of India, made the Depot an ideal site. Arrangements were made for General Motors India Ltd. to lease five buildings, covering a total area of over 350,000 sq.ft. in the Grain Depot, and in December, 1928, the Plant was formally opened. Thirty-three days after the opening of the Plant, 1,000 cars had been assembled, and the rate of production was gradually increased until May 1929, when an output of 100 cars per day, the maximum for which the Plant was designed, was reached.

The great bulk oil installations, which now form the most obvious features of the landscape on the eastern side of the Island, are divided into three groups—the liquid fuel and lubricating oil depots at Malet Bunder, immediately north of the docks ; the kerosene oil installations at Sewri ; and, farther north at Wadala, the petrol installations. They are connected by pipe lines with the various discharge berths

on the harbour walls and at Pir Pao. The expansion of the oil trade of Western India, of which Bombay is the headquarters, has been remarkable and rapid. The imports of petrol alone rose in eleven years from half a million gallons to nineteen millions.

An equally great change has been brought about in the north of the Island. Burnell, writing in the early eighteenth century, described "the noble prospect" from Sion fort, "the eye being delighted with a diversity of objects and all pleasant and agreeable." There is still a great diversity of objects to be seen from that fine point of vantage, not all of them pleasant, and from there one can appreciate at a glance how the face of the Island has been changed not only by the textile industry but by the comparatively recent hydro-electric schemes above the Western Ghats. The overhead transmission lines—there are three of them, in duplicate, from the Tata Hydro, Andhra Valley, and the Tata Power Company, as well as a fourth, connecting one receiving station with two others—are among the most conspicuous objects in the landscape. The first of them was erected in 1915.

In that case scientific advance elicited no protest. The project had been long discussed, by Mr. David Gostling and Mr. Jamsetji Tata, before Mr. Tata's two sons were able to get on with it, helped by Sir George Clarke (now Lord Sydenham) who was then Governor. Bombay in those days became accustomed to sitting down under the idea expressed by Mr. Belloc that—

Life is a vale : its paths are dark and rough.

This is because we do not know enough.

When Science has discovered something more,

We shall be happier than we were before.

But one great scientific reform evoked an uproar not easily to be forgotten; that was the closing of the wells. Bombay used to possess many tanks and wells intended for the use of the inhabitants but largely used also by mosquitoes for breeding purposes. Nor was that their only disadvantage. They were peculiarly liable to pollution. The location of a private well within the house was regarded as a special luxury to be enjoyed only by the rich; and many houses in the Fort were supplied in this way with water which percolated from the foul ditch surrounding the ramparts. In fact, up to 1860, the conditions of an impure water-supply were abundantly fulfilled by insanitary surroundings, and

Plan of the Fort at the top, where the r^2 are diminished.

natural facilities afforded to the drainage of organic impurities into the wells left little room for doubt that liquid sewage formed no insignificant constituent of much of the drinking water. The scarcity and impurity of the well water supply led to water being brought into the Island, first from Vehar and Tulsi and later from Tansa. But custom and prejudice are not easily to be overcome and to this day there are many worthy citizens, epicures in such matters, who highly esteem the water of certain wells, such as that outside the High Court, and infinitely prefer it to any water that has passed through pipes. Thus it happened that when the Municipality demanded the closing of wells in which anopheles mosquitoes were breeding there were many protests. Mr. R. P. Masani has shown, in "The Folklore of Wells" (Taraporewala, 1918) how the owners of wells protested against these orders and cited traditions about the sanctity of water and related stories of spirits residing in wells.

The effect of superstition in delaying sanitary reform has in this way been great. Another difficulty in the way of carrying out an anti-malaria campaign in Bombay has lain in the lack of co-ordination between the various authorities concerned—the Municipality, the Port Trust, the two Railways and the Development Department. A large number of wells had been closed before Major Covell reported on the situation in 1928. Since then out of 2,429 wells 1,232 have been filled in or sealed, and out of 290 tanks (212 of them in the mill area) 266 have been filled in or made mosquito proof. The figures give some idea of the extent to which the well system had been developed in Bombay.

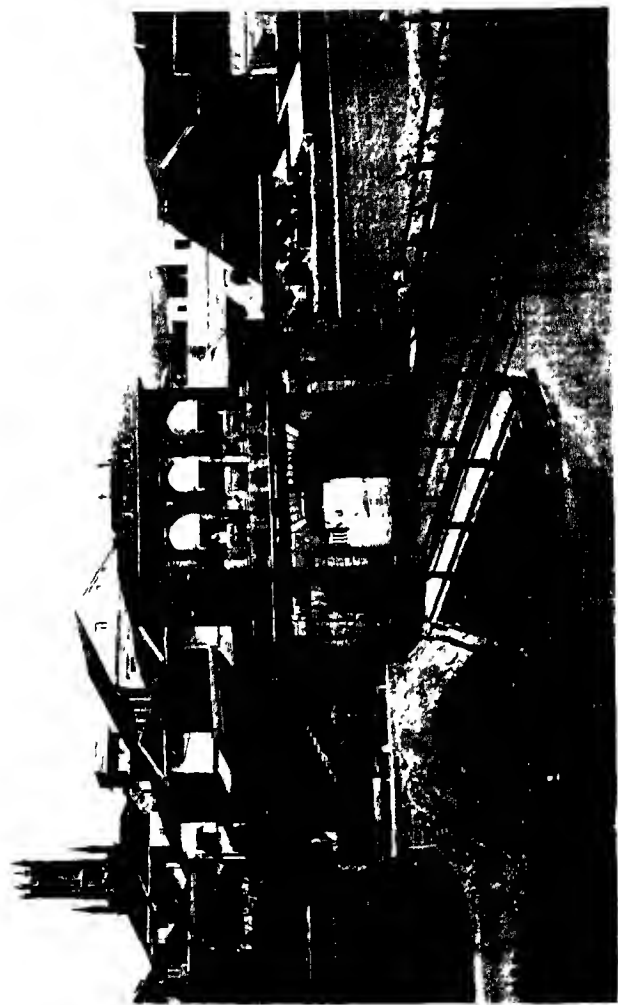
Attempts to improve the health of the people of Bombay have materially altered the appearance of the Island in many respects, most of all of course by filling up the low-lying land. But one of the strangest transformations is that effected in recent years in the Parel Government House estate and its neighbourhood. Government House has become the Haffkine Institute. In what used to be its park-like grounds is the King Edward VII Memorial Hospital and adjacent to it is the Seth Gordhandas Sunderdas Medical College. Here also are the Naoroji Wadia Maternity Hospital and the Bai Jerbai Wadia Hospital for children—both of which have been built in recent years. They owe their existence in great part to the fine philanthropy of two brothers, Sir Nusserwanj and Sir Cusroo Wadia.

The haphazard growth of the City both within and without the Fort walls has made the task of modern town-planners and sanitary reformers extremely difficult. The first great opportunity of reform—apart from the clearances made outside the walls to ensure a clear field of fire from the guns—came in 1803, when a devastating fire in the north part of the Fort burnt 471 houses, and did damage estimated at Rs. 40 lakhs. The Navy took a great part in fighting the fire, which raged for three days, and according to Admiral Carden* "scarcely a vestige of the City except the citadel and the houses occupied by the European officers civil and military escaped.... Two days after this fire had subsided, I dined with the Governor (Jonathan Duncan) all his staff and a large party around him, and on my name being announced the Governor exclaimed with a corresponding motion of his arms—'I request you all to stand back and allow Captain Carden to come forward, the officer who under Providence has saved our city of Bombay and all that are in it.'"

After the fire, Government appointed a Committee, known as the Town Committee, to report on the best means of repairing the destruction and of ascertaining the right of possession of the property in the burnt area. A plan for rebuilding the town was determined upon but met with such opposition, from landholders anxious to build on the old foundations, that the Committee could do little more than take a portion of the ground for widening the streets : and that much the inhabitants readily conceded. Thus a fine opportunity was allowed to pass. But in 1804 some progress was made when, to provide housing for inhabitants displaced by widening the Esplanade, Government resumed the Salt Batty grounds on which the "New Town" of Kamatipoora was eventually built.

A description of the town at this period is given in Milburn's "Oriental Commerce": "Between the two marine gates is the castle called Bombay Castle, a regular quadrangle, well built of strong hard stones. In one of the bastions is a large tank or reservoir for water. The fortifications are numerous, particularly towards the sea, and are so well constructed, the whole being encompassed by a broad and deep ditch, which can be flooded at pleasure, than it is now one of the strongest places the Company have in India..... In the centre of the town is a large open space called the Green

*Memoir of the Life of John Surman Carden. Published 1912.



THE INNFR CHURCH GATE
 On the right, in Chinchale Street is the old office of "The Times of India." (Photograph taken when
 the demolition of the Fort walls had just begun.)

which in the fine weather season is covered with bales of cotton and other merchandise, entirely unprotected ; around the Green are many large well-built and handsome houses ; the Government House and the Church, which is an extremely neat, commodious and airy building are close to each other on the left of the Church Gate. On the right of the Church Gate is the Bazaar, which is very crowded and populous and where the native merchants principally reside. At its commencement stands the theatre, a neat handsome structure. This part of the town suffered much by a destructive fire, which broke out in February 1803 and destroyed nearly three-fourths of the Bazaar, together with the barracks, custom-house and many other public buildings, and property of immense value belonging to the Native merchants. Many houses in the neighbourhood of the castle were battered down by the Artillery, to stop the progress of the flames and preserve the magazine, or in all probability the whole town would have been destroyed. Since the fire of 1803 this part of the town has been rebuilt and the whole much improved, at a considerable expense to the Company."

No such opportunity for improvement recurred for a long time, not indeed until the 'sixties. Sir Bartle Frere very rightly gets the credit for ordering, in 1862, the removal of obsolete fortifications and of the old ramparts and insanitary moat. As one of his biographers says, "the old town of Bombay was ill-built, ill-drained, or rather not drained at all, very dirty and very unhealthy. Land for building was urgently required by the rapidly increasing population, and space for more airy streets and houses....Frere was a keen and ardent sanitary reformer." He was more than that. He was an opportunist in the best sense of the word, and when he ordered the demolition of the old Fort walls which both interfered with the circulation of air and impeded the expansion of the city he was in reality seizing the opportunity made for him by his immediate predecessors, Lord Elphinstone and Sir George Clerk, and by numerous committees appointed by them. The Fort at that time was described as looking like "a large basket stuffed so full of goods that they threatened to tumble out of it."

"The dreary, treeless, sunburnt wilderness of the Esplanade during the hot season with its few dusty narrow roads leading to the native town was appalling. Almost universal darkness prevailed as soon as night set in : all

traffic ceased and people traversing the maidan after 9 p.m. were in mortal fear of thieves and robbers. The Fort was like a city of the dead ; neither foot-passengers nor carriages could be seen, and if a man passed he walked as it were by stealth and flitted away like a spectre. Had anyone the misfortune to arrive with baggage after dark at any of the three gates through which entrance could be obtained, his vehicle was gruffly stopped by the sentinel on duty and he was told that nothing could come in."

Nor was it only a sanitary reason that moved Sir Bartle Frere to take this fateful decision. From 1848 there had been more or less continual discussion about the value of the west front of the Fort. The construction of harbour defence works on Oyster Rock, the Middle Ground Shoal, and Cross Island, and of batteries at Malabar Point, Mahaluxmi, and Colaba, completely altered the value of the old Fort. The harbour batteries, said an official report in 1861, "throw forward the principal defences of Bombay against an enemy at sea, and render the land fortifications an entirely subordinate defence against the most formidable attack to which Bombay is liable, *viz.*, by a European enemy from seaward." Thus it came to be realised that the purposes of the Fort were limited to command of the City in case of a rising, and there was much wild talk of retaining a moat round the enlarged city and of building small citadels in the north of Fort George, and on Back Bay, and the Cooperage. Fortunately Frere disregarded that advice, and the Fort was destroyed—with all its elaboration of bastions, ravelins, gates, moats, and all the ancient devices of the kind beloved by Uncle Toby 150 years earlier—without any fresh measures of protection being taken for purposes of internal security. Only the historic old Castle survived, to be for many years one of the great arsenals in India. The space thus set free was laid out in roads, open spaces and building sites. Memory and traces of the Fort now survive in little more than place names and—though this is fast disappearing—in the irregular line of Hornby Road on its eastern side.

The next great opportunity for sanitary reform came when, as a result of the outbreak of plague, the Government of Bombay began seriously to consider how to improve the more densely populated parts of the city and to do away with some of its worst slums where the labouring classes were living in conditions of unspeakable squalor. The outcome of their



$COV(RA, VFA, HOU, S, I, P, RI, I$
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deliberations was that in 1898 the City Improvement Trust came into existence, entrusted under a special Act (Bombay Act IV of 1898) with the work of making new streets, opening out crowded localities, reclaiming land from the sea to provide room for the expansion of the city, and constructing sanitary dwellings for the poor and for the police. Among the first schemes which it undertook, and which involved the framing of by-laws to insure the building of sanitary dwellings, were the Nagpada improvement scheme; the construction of Princess street through a very overcrowded and ill-ventilated district; the construction of Sandhurst road, straight across the island from Back Bay at Chaupati and ending at Elphinstone Bridge near the docks; and the opening up of Gamdevi, the area lying between Chaupati and the Gowalia Tank Road. The subsequent undertakings of the Improvement Trust in every part of the island need not be related in detail.

The move from the Fort to such suburbs as Byculla, Parel, Mazagon, and, later on, Malabar Hill may really be said to date from the time when Government House was first established at Parel. The earliest Government residence was Bombay Castle, the "Great House" of the Portuguese, of which part remains in the Arsenal which lies behind the Town Hall and between the Mint and the old Custom House. The upper part of that house had to be pulled down about 1757, and a house in Apollo street was then bought and turned into Government House: and from 1829 to 1873 it was occupied by the Secretariat. The Jesuit Church and Convent at Parel, which had been confiscated, were used as an occasional residence for the Governor from 1720 up to 1829; and from then on to 1883 as the permanent residence of the Governor, except during the time of Sir Richard Temple, who refused to live at Parel because the house was so much out of the way and who transferred his headquarters to Malabar Point. General Medows is said to have been the first Governor to make use of Malabar Point for an occasional retreat in the hot weather. Later on Sir Evan Nepean had a small room there, and Mountstuart Elphinstone built there a bungalow which has since developed into the present Government House.

When the Byculla schools were built it was confidently asserted that they were never likely to be hemmed in by buildings. The founders of the Byculla Club were probably comforted by a similar assurance in 1833. Indeed a part of the flats known as the Byculla Plain was used for artillery

practice up to the middle of the nineteenth century, when Matunga was abandoned as an artillery station owing to guinea-worm in the water. Mazagon began during the 18th century to be a place of fashion, and there are still old bungalows there to testify to the former glory of the neighbourhood. But when Maria Graham wrote of it, in 1810, she characterised it as "a dirty Portuguese village putting in its claim to Christianity chiefly from the immense number of pigs kept there."

On Malabar Hill there were houses occupied by Englishmen as early as 1788, and when Arthur Wellesley was in Bombay in 1801 he stayed in a house about half way up the now non-existent eastern brow of the hill. But it was a long time before the hill became popular. Maclean says that by about 1825 there were only two bungalows on it, "The Beehive" and "The Wilderness." He had some interesting remarks to make about the style of houses. Parel, he says, was "once the favourite site for the country houses of European merchants. These houses are large, substantially built and cool, and are in all respects better suited to the climate than the new style of bungalows on Malabar Hill." Colaba, which in the middle of the eighteenth century had been rented from the Company for Rs. 200 a year, did not become popular until after the construction of the Causeway in the 'thirties, although a British regiment was stationed there. The more distant suburbs—Bandra, Pali Hill, Santa Cruz and the other component parts of "Greater Bombay"—are essentially modern.

Lest pride should become the besetting sin of Bombay there have been many reminders of her imperfections, but not all of them justified. Labour conditions in Bombay have been singled out for particular reproach by Mr. H. G. Wells in "The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind." But, as the Royal Commission on Labour has shown, the conditions in the cotton industry in Bombay are far better than those in the jute industry in Bengal. Dealing with the housing of the workers in Bengal *bastis*, the Commission notes that in certain cases little or no consideration is given to the amenities of life. "Every available foot of land has been gradually built upon until the degree of overcrowding and congestion, particularly in certain parts of Howrah, is probably unequalled in any other industrial area in India." The comparison need not be pursued: it is touched upon only because critics who are ignorant of what has been done in Bombay



SIR RICHARD TEMPLE 1st BARONET GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY 1877-80
From *The Indian Charivari* March 1875

do a great wrong to the city by their exaggerations. Employers of labour and Government—particularly during Lord Lloyd's administration—have done much in Bombay to remove the worst evils of over-crowding and insanitary housing. The Royal Commission on Labour noted those attempts, and, after making various suggestions, observed that if efforts were made to correct the deficiencies in the concrete chawls built by the Development Department, "there seems to us to be every hope that the mill workers would gradually see the advantages of residing in areas where conditions are so much superior to those in the old overcrowded slums."

It is not the housing of the working classes alone that comes in for criticism. Buildings which have in the past been acclaimed as masterpieces, and which some critics still admire, are at times heartily denounced. It was an architect, Mr. C. Batley, who in a lecture in 1932 emphasised that, since it passed to King Charles II Bombay had been collecting specimens and had only in quite recent years shown signs of developing an architecture of its own. That is certainly true but, in view of the history of Bombay, it is doubtful whether any other manner of growth was possible. The "collection of specimens" reflects at least the cosmopolitan character of Bombay's people. Deducing its history from its architecture—though there are but few buildings of any age in the island—it might also be possible to trace the effect of that long isolation from the mainland which is one of the most curious, though least often emphasised, features of the early history of Bombay in the British period. In the first century and a half of that period the Government of Bombay was to so great an extent occupied with problems of defence and of reclamation that there was little thought of architectural style and still less money for any buildings except the Fort.

It was prosperity in the nineteenth century that turned Bombay's head and drove it away from the English colonial style, which had been displayed in great solidity but none the less to advantage in the Nave of the Cathedral, the Town Hall, the Byculla Club and some of the old bungalows which still exist. Then came the Gothic invasion. Men like Sir Richard Temple beheld the change and pronounced it to be very good. Gilbert Scott was the architect to be admired above all others. "Of late years," wrote Sir Richard Temple, "the Government had moved in an aesthetic direction, and at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, fine edifices have sprung

up in which the Gothic, Italian and Saracenic styles have been adapted with much taste and skill to the necessities of the East." Many later critics have been of that way of thinking. Some of their judgments will be found in the late Mr. R. P. Karkaria's anthology "The Charm of Bombay." Sir Edwin Arnold, for example, thought it a happy inspiration to blend Gothic and Indian schools of architecture and wrote of the Secretariat, the Law Courts and other buildings as being "all very remarkable structures" upon which he looked "with admiring eyes." That great journalist G. W. Steevens thought Bombay had the richest and stateliest buildings in India, "challenging comparison with almost any city in the world"; and he added that "the Briton feels himself a greater man for his first sight of Bombay."

Even an anthology may admit something beyond flowery tributes. Thus it includes the late Sir Sidney Low's comment that the public buildings in Bombay were "designed with a fine official disregard for all local associations." Criticism of all the Gothic exuberance of Bombay was indeed not slow to come: it could not have been otherwise in what Samuel Butler called "the present aesthetic reign of terror." Mr. Aldous Huxley, with his recent talk of the "lavatory bricks and Gothic spires" of Bombay, and his condemnation of it as being architecturally "one of the most appalling cities of either hemisphere," is only one in a long line of critics. But not all of them have given a reason for this as he has done, pointing out that "it had the misfortune to develop during what was, perhaps, the darkest period of all architectural history"—the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The P. W. D. engineers responsible for some of the buildings have in particular come in for many hard words. Colonel Fuller—the architect of the High Court—it was contemptuously said, put windows into the High Court which had been copied from examples in somebody's text-book of Gothic architecture. "Venetian-Gothic," wrote J. M. Maclean in his Guide Book, "has not been proved to be the best style of architecture for a tropical climate." It was in that book also that the Secretariat, designed by Col. Wilkins, is described as remarkable for its portentous size and the inconvenience of the number of small rooms into which it is broken up; the front "looks as if the architect had tried to build something which should be a cross between a barrack and a workhouse." Another Guide-book, published



The new and old London, the London of the future

in 1891, said that the University Hall seemed "to have been designed for a College chapel rather than the Hall of an Oriental University.....the modelling of the carving is extremely poor and vulgar." The High Court was described by the same critic as "the largest and almost the most ugly building in Bombay. It is a very bad attempt to imitate the style of English Gothic architecture."

But, so long as the Government lacked the advantage of professional advice, no very different result could have been expected. Lord Curzon was quick to see and to remedy that. The advent of the professional architect to advise Government has done much to remove the more common grounds of criticism. But before that time the late Mr. F. W. Stevens had designed both that romantic building which houses the offices of the G. I. P. Railway and the Municipal building, and, at a later date, the offices of the B. B. & C. I. Railway. Of the Government architects, it can scarcely be disputed, the greatest has been the late George Wittet. A study of the many works of that admirable genius should warn the critic against hasty judgments. His work is unfairly judged by the Gateway of India since the scheme, which was to include a great processional way leading into the town, is incomplete: if that is not understood the angle at which the Gateway has been set, on specially reclaimed land, must be a mystery. His Museum is only the central block of three that were intended. His addition to the University is but two wings without the front and gateway. Those are the chances to which any architect is exposed. Wittet may have had more than his share of them just as he had a great share of opportunities; but the traveller landing on the Ballard Pier cannot fail—if he is alive to aesthetic impressions—to recognise there, and on the neighbouring Ballard Estate, the greatness of his conceptions. But the new Custom House is a pale shadow of the magnificent building, with steps down to the water, which Wittet originally planned.

CHAPTER VIII.—POPULATION.

Royal and Dower-royal, I the Queen
Fronting thy richest sea with richer hands—
A thousand mills roar through me where I glean
All races from all lands.

—*Rudyard Kipling.*

IT was for long the proud boast of Bombay that in size of population, as well as in other respects, it was the first city in India. Thus the Census of 1921 showed that Bombay without its suburbs had a population of 1,175,914: Calcutta came second with 1,077,264, but, possibly to satisfy its pride, the suburbs and Howrah were added to that total and thus brought its total to 1,272,565. The 1931 Census altered the position. Calcutta, with suburbs and Howrah, 1,419,321; Calcutta proper, 1,196,833; Bombay, 1,157,851. Time will show whether that decline in the population of Bombay was due to temporary causes or not, but in any case a decrease in the more crowded quarters of the city should be a matter for rejoicing not for any false shame. The density of Bombay Town and Island as a whole was found, in the 1921 Census, to be 78 persons to the acre. But the density naturally varied, being at that date as high as 737 in Kumbharwada, 582 in Khara Talao (both being in C Ward), and 714 in Kamatipura and 699 in 2nd Nagpada (in E Ward). It was noted also—and it was a matter of great concern to sanitary experts—that the central parts of the Island, which had declined in density after 1881, had by 1921 begun to fill up again to an extent that was not compatible with sanitation.

The earliest estimate of the population, deduced from Fryer, is that in 1661 it was 10,000. That had risen to 60,000 by 1675 and by 1715, mainly owing to disorders ensuing from commercial rivalry and the hostility of the Marathas, the Mughals and the Portuguese, had fallen to 16,000. Progress in administration, the end of the rivalry between the two Companies, and direct encouragement to industries, led to the population rising again to 70,000 in 1744, and to well over 100,000 in 1780. In 1806 Sir James Mackintosh put the figure at 200,000. After that one comes to more trustworthy estimates, such as 162,570 (Census of 1826); 236,000 (Census

of 1836); 816,562 (Census of 1863 undertaken by Sir Bartle Frere in defiance of orders from England); 644,405 (Municipal Census of 1872); 773,196 (Census of 1886); 821,764 (Census of 1891 showing increase due to the growth of the mill industry); 776,006 (Census of 1901, three years after the outbreak of plague which was then estimated to have caused 114,000 deaths and to have induced 43,000 persons to migrate from the city); 977,822 (Municipal Census of 1906); 979,445 (Census of 1911).

Various distinct waves of migration can be noted. S. M. Edwardes has placed at the end of the thirteenth century the arrival of the Palshikar Brahmans, the Pathare Prabhus, the Panchkalshis, the Vadvals or Malis, the Thakurs, the Bhois, and perhaps a certain proportion of Agris. The Bhandaris, in view of their connexion with the coco-nut palm, probably arrived at an earlier date. Of the others the Palshikar Brahmans acted as priests and medical attendants to the general community, the Prabhus represented probably the clerical and administrative element, and the Bhandaris were employed in military service under a set of hereditary headmen known as Bhongles or trumpeters, but combined these duties (to an increasing extent as time went on) with that of tapping the toddy-trees and liquor distillation. The Panchkalshis represented the industrial section of the community, the Vadvals, Malis and Agris the agricultural, while the Thakurs were petty military officials and the Bhois acted as menials and palanquin bearers.

The Prabhus were the first to attempt to transform Bombay from a fishing village to a flourishing town. Raja Bimb, its ruler in the thirteenth century, it is believed, was a member of the Pathare Prabhu community. Later on Portuguese intolerance drove them out; they returned when the English administration had been established and with them came their spiritual guides the Yajurvedi Brahmans. The leader of those gurus, Shama Acharya, in 1723 obtained a patent confirming him for ever in the right of "presiding over the Gentoos of this Island so far as it relates to the administering of the rites and ceremonies of their religion and the ordering and directing what Brahmans shall officiate under him." The Prabhus thrived. They were, writes Diwan Bahadur G. S. Rao, for some time "the landed gentry of Bombay, owning large estates in the Fort, on Malabar Hill, and in the suburbs. They were distinguished for their loyalty, their

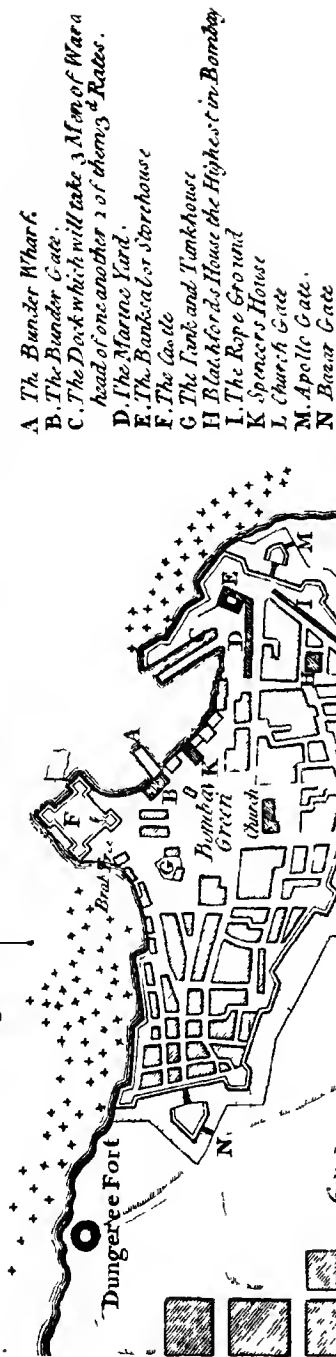
public spirit, their munificence and philanthropy." A good many of them were ruined by the share mania in the 'sixties. " The expensive habits and customs of the people, the loss of their power and prestige, and the keen competition of other enterprising communities contributed to keep the Prabhus down for a considerable time. What is more, they suffered heavily from existence in the crowded parts of Bombay ; and a gallant and determined attempt by the Community during the past thirty or forty years to lift itself back to its lost position of eminence and prosperity has not yet been successful.

After the establishment of Mahomedan rule at Mahim, a number of Mahomedans came to the Island, most of them connected with shipping, and became merged in what is now called the Konkani Mahomedan community. But it was not until the British were established in the Island that there was any appreciable inflow of Banias and Brahmans.

One Parsi, Dorabji Nanabhai, is said to have settled in Bombay in 1640, and by about 1674 a Tower of Silence had been built (it is believed that the builder was Modi Hirji Wachha) on Malabar Hill and an Agiari in the Fort ; but it was later, when Surat began to decline, that the Parsis came in any numbers. Among the best known of the early Parsi settlers in Bombay were Rustom Dorabji, afterwards Patel of Bombay, and Lowji Nasarwanji Wadia, the master-builder of the Dockyard. To their enterprise the development of trade was in great measure due. The first Parsi to visit China was Hirji Jivaji Readymoney in 1756, and he was followed by his brother Muncherji, and later by Jamsetji Jejeebhoy who made four voyages before 1807. The Parsis were under great and lasting obligations to Hirji and Muncherji Readymoney for acting as pioneers of the China trade, from which as a community they have derived much profit. It was with the wealth obtained from this source that Hirji Readymoney bought an extensive estate in Bombay and took rank among the foremost merchants of his time in India.

By 1780 the Parsis in Bombay numbered 3,000, and by 1811 when that figure had risen to 10,000, the community numbered many land-owners and shipowners and partners in big mercantile firms. Mr. S. M. Edwardes states that many well-known families trace their ancestry to men who settled in Bombay between about 1730 and 1740, such as Muncherji Jivaji, ancestor of Sir Cowasji Jehangir ; Cowasji Cama, founder of the Cama family ; Naoroji Manekji Sett, whose

PLAN OF THE TOWN OF BOMBAY.



- A The Bunder Wharf.
- B The Bunder Gate.
- C The Dock which will take 3 Men of War a head of one another 2 of them 4 Rates.
- D The Marine Yard.
- E The Bank for Storehouse
- F The Castle
- G The Tank and Tankhouse
- H Blackfords House the Highest in Bombay
- I The Rope Ground
- K Spencers House
- L Church Gate
- M Apollo Gate.
- N Bazar Gate

Half a Mile.

Is m t p l o t a W i t h i n N o t h i n M a r t h a M e r c a S h i p I n d o c t

family later owned Naoroji hill ; and Babulshet Ganbaset, ancestor of Mr. Jagannath Shankershet. The Kapol Banias came about 1756 from Gogha and Surat with their leader Shet Rupji Dhanji—ancestor of the late Sir Mangaldas Nathubhai, who was leader of the Bombay Hindus in the 'seventies and 'eighties of the last century.

An almost forgotten element in the eighteenth century population of Bombay was formed by the slaves or *coffrees*. One has to take a great deal for granted in the history of Bombay, and one of the more important social factors so treated is without doubt the slave trade. There are stray allusions about slaves in all sorts of modern books, but one scarcely obtains from any of them the impression as to the extent of the slave trade that is to be derived from the chart by William Nicholson, Master of His Majesty's ship *Elizabeth*, which, as internal evidence shows, was drawn in the later part of the eighteenth century. Madagascar Town, on the shore of Back Bay, was the slave quarter, and Captain Nicholson obviously marked it in his chart with great prominence (but with little regard to scale or topographical exactitude) because it was a subject in which he took particular interest. Official correspondence shows that slaves were being brought from Madagascar in 1736, and the trade in them seems to have gone on for 40 years or so at least after that. There was indeed a "Board of the Coffrees" to deal with them—*coffree* being a corruption of the Arabic *Kafir* (plural *Kofra*) a term applied by the Arabs to Pagan negroes among others, which was taken by the Portuguese and then by the English. Some of the *coffrees* were re-exported to St. Helena or Madras or Sumatra ; some were taken into private service, especially if they could play the French horn or other musical instrument but they were intended to be used as mariners or in the marine yard and the women as *bigaris* or labourers on the Company's works. By 1741 they had been found to be of a poor constitution and so, somewhat curiously, they were turned into soldiers. That experiment was for a time, at least in Madras, a great success, and the President and Council of Fort Saint George reported that "their behaviour in the field is equal to the Europeans and that they are as much dreaded by the Moors." The Court therefore sent out instructions to Bombay that they should be treated humanely, with "all proper encouragement that they may cheerfully perform their duty in whatever station you shall think proper to employ them," and "their habitation, diet and clothing" were to be regulated.

A Committee was duly appointed in 1753 to draw up the necessary regulations. One hundred of the ablest bodied male slaves were to be employed in the artillery, the remainder of the men to be equally divided among the military and the marine; the boys to be trained as carpenters, caulkers and smiths "of which the island is in much want," and the women and girls to pick oakum or do any other service that might be required. Their habitation and kitchen garden are shown on the map. Why did the slave trade die out in Bombay? Was it because of the obvious humanitarian objection to it, or had the inefficiency of slave labour anything to do with it?

Towards the end of the eighteenth century Forbes wrote in his "Oriental Memoirs" that "he found the population of Bombay very much increased and constantly increasing. The troubles on the continent had compelled many to seek an asylum from the calamities of war; personal security and protection of property under the British flag were another great inducement; while a flourishing commerce and many other causes allured a number of merchants to leave their fluctuating situations in other places for a more permanent settlement on this little rocky island." The great famine of 1802-04 brought many fugitives to Bombay including Jains from Cutch, many Parsis and Mahomedans including the Memons and Khojas, both of which sects were at that time engaged for the most part in the humbler walks of retail trade, and the Bohras. About that time also came the Bhatias, from Kathiawar and Cutch, and they have since taken a great part in developing the mill industry. A little earlier came the Bene-Israel community who at some unknown time had settled in the Konkan. One of the first of them to become prominent was Samuel Ezekiel Divekar who fought for the English against Tipoo and who, in 1796, built the first Jewish synagogue in Bombay—the Shaar Harahmim (Gate of Mercy). The opportunity of serving in the Indian Army and of acquiring education brought a good many of his community to Bombay in the early part of the nineteenth century.

One inquiry into the nature of the population made early in the nineteenth century pointed out that the Persian, Arab and Kandahari settlements in Bombay marked the epoch of the trade in horses—until recent years the Arab stables in Byculla were one of the sights of the town—and that the Brahman population began to increase in consequence of British relations with the Peshwa and received a great impetus

from his overthrow in 1817, and the subsequent pacification of the Deccan.

The trade boom in the 'sixties naturally attracted population to Bombay from all over the Presidency, not only from the immediate neighbourhood but from such places as Cutch, whence came traders—Bhatias, Khojas and Vanis in large numbers. But the main cause of the growth of the population has been the mill industry. In 1921 it was estimated that 16.2 per cent. of the males and 9.5 per cent. of the females in the Island were employed in the mills, the total number of textile operatives being 159,690.

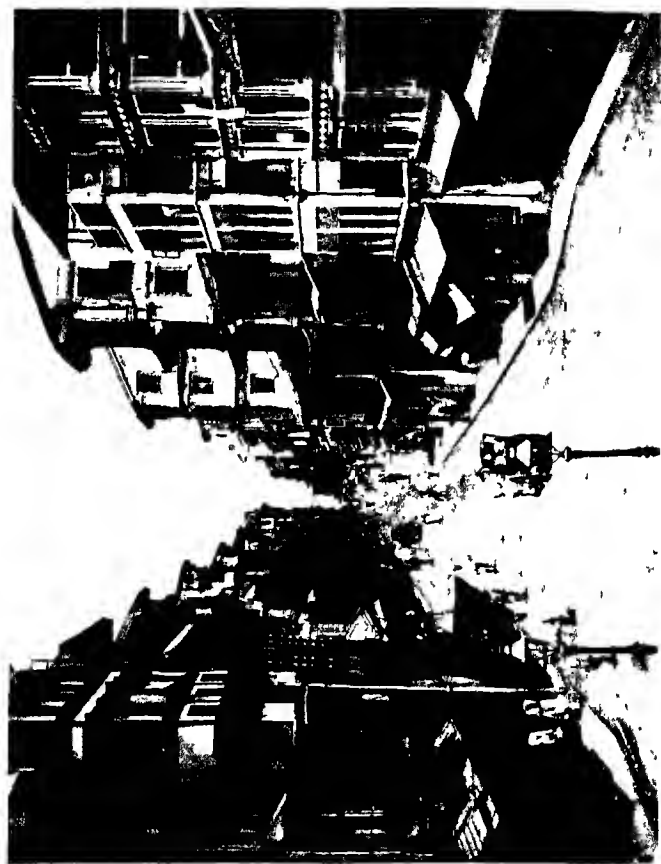
Nor of course is it the textile operatives only who are immigrants, in the Census meaning of that word. For instance, numbers of *kunbis* leave their fields and come to Bombay returning to their homes only for the rains. Visitors of that sort help to account for the fact that the percentage of the total population which has actually been born in Bombay has been steadily declining, and in 1921 had fallen to 16. "We have now reached a condition of things possibly unexampled," wrote the Census Superintendent in that year. "Where the matter will end it is difficult to see." He noted also that the maximum stream of immigrants from some districts, such as Thana, Cutch, Surat and Poona, had long since been reached. But the stream from the Punjab and Northern India was growing. Those immigrants, however, did not bring their womenfolk: "should they do so the character of Bombay might be almost changed in a couple of generations." The same phenomenon is commented upon in the report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India, which states that Bombay "now draws its factory labour mainly from two sources—by sea from Ratnagiri, a district to the south where pressure on the land is very great, and by land from the Deccan districts, especially Ahmednagar, Poona and Sholapur. The increasing needs of industry and the drying up of other sources, owing to the growth of local industries, have lately strengthened the flow of labour from much more distant areas, particularly the United Provinces." Unfortunately it is not only the hard worker who comes to Bombay in search of employment. Mr. J. C. Curry, writing in "The Indian Police" (Faber and Faber) about Bombay and Calcutta, observes:—"These cities act as magnets to attract the most hardened criminals of all

the criminal classes of Asia. They have incredible under-worlds, sordid, inflammable and incurable, whose people, the *goondas* of Calcutta and the *mawalis* of Bombay, are men who live by trading in every kind of human vice, chicanery, fraud, drugs, women, murder—the whole gamut of evil. There are many who have spent, perhaps, 40 years of adult life in Bombay, nearly half of it in jail with 15 to 20 convictions; and for every crime at which they are caught they have probably committed a dozen others."

Dealing with Bombay's long history of riots,* communal and otherwise, Mr. Curry continues: "There are probably few cities in the world with a record of anything like twenty serious riots in a hundred years, not to mention minor ones. The extraordinary variety in the causes of these outbreaks, as well as in the classes and races concerned, is also a distinguishing feature of this regrettable side of the prosperous and progressive city of Bombay. Whatever the immediate and particular causes may be, the general cause of all these disturbances is the existence of a large and insufficiently controlled criminal underworld. Without that some of the riots would not have occurred, while others would have been less serious."

It is not only upon the size of its population that Bombay claims to base its motto of *Urbs Prima in Indis*. Over the greater part of its history there has been a marked readiness on the part of its more respectable members to dwell together in unity. There have been notable exceptions to that generalisation, but on the whole there has been stronger unison in Bombay than in other great cosmopolitan cities; and it has been upon the harmony existing between the English and Indian communities in particular that the greatness of the industry and trade of Bombay has been built up. As Lord Curzon said in his farewell to India, "I have seen it (Bombay) in prosperity and I have seen it in suffering; and I have always been greatly struck by the spirit and patriotism

*For example the Parsi-Hindu riots of 1832; the Parsi, Muhammadan riots of 1851 and 1874; Sunni-Shia riots on various occasions at the time of the Muharram; the rioting arising from the boycott by Congress of the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1921 (2 Europeans, one American and 2 Parsis killed and many injured by rioters, 83 police wounded, 53 rioters killed and 30 wounded); the communal riots arising from the activities of the Red Flag Union leaders in 1929, when there were 149 killed in February and 35 in April-May; and the still more terrible communal fighting in May and June 1932, when nearly 200 were killed and about ten times that number were injured.



4 p u t n e a t u s c e n t b n a

of its citizens. There seems to me to be here an excellent feeling between the very different races and creeds." Tradition dating from the seventeenth century may fairly be said to account, at any rate in part, for this state of unity, because in the early years of the British occupation of Bombay there was a stream of immigrants driven to the Island by Portuguese intolerance and, like one celebrated Bania, because of the fame "which he has heard of the Honorable Company's large commerce, upright dealing, justice and moderation to all persons that live under the shadow of their Government." Francis Warden summed the matter up well in his famous report on the land tenures of Bombay, published in 1814. "The Court of Directors," he wrote, "have from the earliest period entertained an opinion that the Island of Bombay might be rendered an advantageous settlement, and have therefore repeatedly enjoyed the exercise of a mild and good government, to encourage people from all other parts to come and reside under their protection; the impartial administration of justice has been anxiously urged, and that every facility might be afforded to the new inhabitants to build themselves habitations."

That policy helped not only to produce contentment and concord but to evolve conditions in which Indian leaders of opinion would rise and exercise a far more than local effect. "What Bombay thinks to-day India will think to-morrow" was for long as true as such sayings ever can be. Men like Dadabhoy Naoroji, G. K. Gokhale, and Pherozeshah Mehta had a powerful influence all over India, and in their lifetime political leadership seemed indeed to be vested in Bombay. Even more striking has been the lead given by Bombay in the art of self-government. Sir Dinshah Wacha, himself one of the great builders of the Municipal Corporation, has written in "The Rise and Growth of Bombay Municipal Government" (published by G. A. Natesan & Co.: 1913) that the Corporation has long since been regarded as a model for all India to copy. "It is indeed a stately structure, beautiful to behold for the symmetry of its design and the elegance of its proportion. Bombay owes this edifice, firstly, to the liberal statesmanship of Sir Bartle Frere and Lord Reay, the two most brilliant administrators after Mountstuart Elphinstone, secondly, to the sagacity and patriotism of the legislators who were instrumental in giving it body and form in the Legislative Council of whom the late Mr. Telang, Sir

Frank Forbes Adam, and Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta were the most conspicuous, and, thirdly, to the public spirit and unceasing activity of those past and present members who have so well taken their respective part in the active proceedings in the civic hall." Justification of that statement can be found in abundance in Sir Dinshah Wacha's book and in Mr. R. P. Masani's "Evolution of local self-government in Bombay" (Oxford University Press: 1929).

CHAPTER IX.—RELIGION AND LEARNING.

'Oh lovely East!' (said Madame Carolina) 'Why was I not oriental! Land where the voice of the nightingale is never mute! Land of the cedar and the citron, the turtle and the myrtle—of ever-blooming flowers and ever-shining skies! Illustrious East! Cradle of philosophy! Oh, my dearest Baroness, why do you not feel as I do? From the East we obtain everything.'

'Indeed,' said the Baroness, with great simplicity. 'I thought we only got Cashmere shawls.'—*Vivian Grey*.

WHEN Bombay was ceded to the English the chief Roman Catholic churches on the Island were those of N. S. de Esperanca, N. S. da Salvacao, N. S. de Gloria, San Miguel and the chapel of N. S. de Bom Conselho. The first of these stood on what is now known as the Marine Lines Maidan, at the place where a cross now stands, and was removed in 1760 in connexion with the defences of Bombay and another was erected in its place at the cost of Government in Kalbadevi. The others are still in existence having been rebuilt or improved from time to time, and many other churches have since been built.

The extent to which Christianity had been spread by the Portuguese method of forcible conversion was long ago questioned. Streynsham Master, writing in 1672, said "God knows the major part of these Christians are very little different from the Hindooes or naturall Indians, and understand as little of Christian Religion; for they goe by the name of Rice Christians, that is those that profess and owne the name of Christianity for Sustenance only, being a most miserable poore People, and kept in horrible Slavery, Subjection and Ignorance." The charge may have been true: but there was beyond doubt some attempt to dispel that ignorance.

In the early history of Bombay it was the Franciscans who were most conspicuous for building churches and the Jesuits for the foundation of schools and colleges. Five years after their arrival at Bandra the Jesuits founded there a college under the invocation of the Holy Name which assumed the dignity of a university and conferred degrees. That was

in 1575 and the "university" seems to have continued until 1739, when the Marathas overran Salsette and the building was dismantled by the Portuguese under English advice as it was feared it might be used as a fort by the Marathas. After that there was a long hiatus in education so far as the Roman Catholics were concerned, and no real progress was made until 1854, when Bishop Hartmann called in the Jesuits who then started the school at Mazagon, which later became St. Mary's High School, and, in 1860, a day-school in Cavel which was the origin of St. Xavier's High School to which the College course was added in 1869.

The advent of the Jesuits in 1854-58, writes the Rev. E. R. Hull, S.J. (in "The German Jesuit Fathers of Bombay") was an epoch-making event. "Down to the year 1858 the records reek with the most painful sensationalism; they present one ever-accentuating scene of turbulence and disorder, immensely interesting but at the same time deeply pathetic. From the year 1858 everything is changed.... The history becomes one calm, smooth, almost dull record of quiet solid progress, one series of expanding works and enterprises, a dry catalogue of churches, chapels, schools, orphanages, associations, missions, and social works opened, or enlarged and in various ways developed." That record was continued up to the time of the Great War, a record of eminent service to India known most of all by the higher education given not only to Catholics but to the general public. The war almost inevitably involved the internment or deportation of the German Jesuits, and since the war their place has been taken by Spanish Jesuits. Another change of importance affecting the Roman Catholic Church in Western India arose from the settlement in 1928 of the long discussed problem of the Padroado.*

*A Bombay Government Press Note published in May 1928, gives the following account of this :—"An agreement has been arrived at between the Holy See and the Portuguese Government regarding the exercise by the latter of ecclesiastical patronage in India. For many centuries there have existed in India, and more especially in the Bombay Presidency, two jurisdictions both of which are in communication with, and are subordinate to, the See of Rome. Their origin is briefly as follows :—

"From the date of the rise of Portuguese supremacy in Western India the patronage of all churches and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Portuguese territory in India was vested in the Crown of Portugal. About the year 1514, as the work of evangelisation appeared to lack vigour, the Pope began to send out to India missionaries belonging to nations other than the Portuguese, with the result that before very long the Roman Catholic priesthood and their

parishioners in Western India were divided into two camps, those owning allegiance to the Padroado or jurisdiction of the Portuguese Crown and those owning allegiance to the Propaganda de Fide or Jurisdiction of the Vatican.

" Disputes between the two Jurisdictions were frequent and in the year 1886, a Concordat was promulgated which placed a limit upon the patronage exercised by the Crown of Portugal. The Propaganda Province of Bombay included the Archbishopric of Bombay and the Bishopric of Poona. Under the former was the Island of Bombay with Gujerat, Kathiawar and Sind. Under Poona, the Deccan Plateau and the Districts of Dharwar and Bijapur. The remainder of the Bombay Presidency was in the Padroado Province of Goa, which included the Archdiocese of Goa and the Diocese of Damaun. The Arch diocese of Goa included the churches of Ratnagiri, Belgaum and Sawantvadi and the Vicar-Generalship of the Konkani. The Diocese of Damaun comprises the districts of Thana and Kolaba. In certain areas, however, a Bishop exercised control over churches outside his jurisdiction by way of exemption. Thus the Archbishop of Bombay had jurisdiction over 8 churches in the Damaun Diocese and the Bishop of Damaun had jurisdiction over six churches in Bombay Island, while the Archbishop of Goa controlled one church in Poona.

' For some time past the Holy See and the Portuguese Government recognising the difficulties of putting into execution the Concordat of 1886 on account of the many modifications which had been made either in Portugal or in the religious life in India since the war have had under consideration the regularising of the boundaries of the Dioceses, the election of bishops and the double jurisdiction now existing. As a result of those discussions, an agreement has been come to of which the following are the principal terms, as they affect the Bombay Presidency —

' The Archdiocese of Goa in which the Patriarchal title remains annexed, is to be enlarged by the addition of the Portuguese possessions of Damaun to the north of Bombay and by the addition of the Island of Diu off the Kathiawar coast. The Archbishop will be called the Archbishop of Goa and Damaun.

" The portion of the Diocese of Damaun not incorporated in the Archdiocese of Goa will be annexed to the Archdiocese of Bombay, which will retain its present ecclesiastical organisation. The Archbishop of Bombay will be alternately of Portuguese and British nationality and will have jurisdiction over the entire territory of the Archdiocese enlarged as above. The Portuguese Parish priests of the two churches of St Francis Xavier and Our Lady of Glory in Bombay will be Privy Councillors to the Chamberlain of His Holiness *durante munere*.

' As regards the See of Goa the Holy See reserves the right to choose the Portuguese candidate most suitable for the direction of the diocese after consultation, according to the practice of the Roman Curia, with the Bishops of the Province, through the intermediary of the Apostolic Delegate in India. The name of the candidate will be transmitted to the President of the Portuguese Republic who will judge if the name offers any political difficulties. If the candidate offers no political difficulties the President of the Republic will present his name officially to the Holy See. The reply of the Portuguese Government will be considered to be affirmative after the lapse of two months to be reckoned from the date of notice given. As regards the See of Bombay the Holy See reserves the right of choosing the most suitable candidate. His name will be made known to the President of the Republic and the latter will present the candidate officially within one month.

" The Government of Bombay have been informed that Father Gioacchino de Lima has been designated by the Holy See as Archbishop of Bombay "

The history of the Anglican Cathedral Church of St. Thomas has often been told, from the eighteenth century when the Rev. Richard Cobbe published his "Bombay Church," down to the twentieth century when the Rev. J. L. C. Dart wrote its history in connexion with the bicentenary of the Church. One of the first published references to the Church occurs in Hamilton's "New Account of the East Indies." Hamilton says "Sir George Oxenden began to build (a church) and charitable collections were gathered for that use; but when Sir George died, Piety grew sick, and the building of churches was grown unfashionable. . . . There were reckoned above £5,000 had been gathered towards building the church, but Sir John Child when he came to reign in Bombay, converted the money to his own use, and no more was heard of it. The walls were built by his predecessors to five yards high, and so it continued till the year 1715."

The charge of misappropriation of funds is inaccurate. The foundation of the church was laid under the direction of Aungier, and not of his predecessor. Aungier contributed liberally to the scheme, and left in his will a legacy of Rs. 5,000 towards its completion. His executor and principal legatee was his brother, the Earl of Longford, who resided in England. In spite of all the efforts of the Directors of the Company in London, and its Governors in Bombay, Lord Longford could not be induced to part with the money, and from this fact appears to have arisen the story of misappropriation of funds which scandal has magnified. The true cause of the cessation of work seems to have been that the little community attempted more than it was possible for it to carry out. Less than 300 in number they planned and began to build a church designed to hold 1,000. It is possible also that when the leading spirit was removed "Piety grew sick" and enthusiasm waned.

It was not until 1715 that the building was begun again, thanks to the Rev. Richard Cobbe who urged that course in a sermon. In his vivid account of those times he writes — "After sermon, in the morning. . . I waited on the Governor. . . according to custom, at his lodgings in the fort, before dinner. Who was pleased to address me very friendly in these words :

"Well, Doctor, you have been very zealous for the Church this morning.

"Please your Honour, I think there was occasion enough for it, and I hope without offence.

"Well then if we must have a Church, we will have a Church! Do you see and get a book made and see what every one will contribute towards it, and I will do first." Which was accordingly done, leaving a blank for the Company's subscription, which was afterwards filled up with ten thousand rupees. A rupee is half a crown."

Cobbe threw himself with great energy into the task of raising money. He wrote letters to all the English settlements in India and Persia, going so far afield as to address the "Members of the Church of England at China." Very seldom was the response unsatisfactory, and the first stone of the new work was laid in November, 1715.

On Christmas Day, 1718, "the Governor and Council attended by the free Merchants, Military, etc., Inhabitants of this place, proceeding from the Fort in great order to the Church, and approaching the great door at the West end, were met by the Chaplain in his proper habit, and introduced repeating the twenty-fourth *Psalm*, with the *Gloria Patri*. The Church was dressed with palm branches and plantain trees, the pillars adorned with wreaths of greens, and the double crosses over the arches looked like so many stars in the firmament. Service began as usual on Christmas Day, but with this additional satisfaction, the making a new Christian the same day in our new Church; a good omen, I hope, of a future increase; the Governor, Mrs. Parker and Mrs. Crommelin stood gossips, who came down to the fort in time of divine service, where the child was baptised according to order, by the name of *Susannah*; a whole crowd of black people standing round about, *Rammagee* and all his caste, who were so well pleased with the decency and regularity of our way of worship that they stood it out the whole service."

There was a lengthy sermon—on the text "For mine house shall be called a house of prayer for all people"—which Canon Dart in his pamphlet on the Cathedral describes as intensely inspiring and breathing throughout the reverence and love of order that characterised the Church revival of the later Stuart period. After this memorable service, writes Cobbe, "the Governor, Council, and ladies repaired to the vestry, when having drunk success to the new Church in a glass of Sack, the whole town returned to the Governor's lodgings within the fort where was a splendid entertainment, wine and music, and abundance of good cheer. After dinner the Governor began Church and King, according to custom;

but upon this occasion an additional compliment of 21 great guns from the fort, which were answered by the European ships in the harbour with several other healths, drinking and firing until almost four o'clock and lest so good an opportunity should slip, by the Governor's leave, I brought in the subscription book, and got above two thousand four hundred rupees to our Church, of which the Governor, for example's sake, launched out one thousand rupees himself.... Thus was the ceremony of opening *Bombay Church* performed with all the public demonstrations of joy, with that decency and good order as was suitable to the solemnity."

The standard of life in Bombay at that time was low and it was inevitable that a clergyman of the type of Richard Cobbe should make many enemies. That Cobbe possessed great zeal and energy is evident from the fact that his great work of building *Bombay Church* was completed within three and a half years of its inception. He seems to have turned with the same enthusiasm to the improvement of the spiritual condition of his parishioners, about which he showed himself more solicitous than they approved. In 1720, within two years of the opening of the Church, there was serious trouble when he denounced the "open and notorious sin" of a member of Council who employed workmen to repair his house on Sundays! The sinner against the fourth Commandant complained to the Council, who took the matter up. Accusations against Cobbe came pouring in. He had preached a seditious sermon, in that he had seemed to refer to the justice of the Council's expulsion of a member; he had compelled people to remove their gloves before approaching the altar, observing that "they would not keep them on at the Governor's table;" he had preached "personally at" different members of the congregation. As Cobbe refused to render the satisfaction which the Council deemed due to his aggrieved parishioners, he was ordered to be deported and returned to England. He arrived there in 1723 and presented to the Bodleian Library the first *Avesta* book that reached England. What view of the quarrel was taken by the home authorities is not clear. But they appear to have made some sort of amendment, for, 45 years afterwards, Cobbe dedicated to them his little book about *Bombay Church*, and gratefully referred to their "generous benefaction and satisfaction." It is quite possible therefore, that on his return to England, the Court of Directors were

instrumental in obtaining for him the living of Wint in Dorsët-shire, which he held until his death.

It was not until 1835 that the Bishopric* of Bombay was created and Dr. Thomas Carr was nominated the first Bishop of the diocese. After his consecration in England the Church of St. Thomas became the Cathedral Church. To commemorate that event the tower was enlarged and heightened; but the building which Cobbe had hailed as "a structure deservedly admired for its strength and beauty, neatness and uniformity but more especially for its echo," in course of time came to be considered unworthy of Cathedral dignity. A rebuilding scheme was started in 1864. Before then it had received the present font from the "Court of Directors of the Hon'ble Body." The window over what is now known as the Lady Altar was presented in 1861, in memory of "L.H." and Bishop Carr. In the same year a stone pulpit was erected by a citizen of Bombay. But to the lovers of Gothic architecture who then bore sway, these gifts merely "contrasted strongly with the absence of all architectural features in the edifice." Plans for a renovated building were prepared by James Trubshawe, a Bombay architect, in which he strove to combine "a sufficiency of Eastern features and traditions, to make it seem at home in a tropical climate" with "ample characteristics of the faith and people it represents." The sympathy of those whose undeveloped æsthetic instincts prevented them from appreciating this ideal was won by an appeal to their love of bodily ease. Lack of ventilation in the old building (which up to 1816 had windows glazed with oyster shells and a floor plastered with cow dung) was acknowledged to be "an evil of the greatest magnitude." The new building was to be delightfully cool. A committee was formed which numbered amongst its names Sir George Birdwood and Sir L. H. Bayley. Sufficient funds were obtained to make a beginning, and the foundation stone of the "renovated" Cathedral was laid by the Governor, Sir Bartle Frere.

*Bishops of Bombay.—

1.	Thomas Carr	..	..	..	1837-1851
2.	John Hardinge	..	..	..	1851-1868
3.	Henry Alexander Douglas	..	..	..	1868-1876
4.	Louis George Mylne	..	..	..	1876-1898
5.	James Macarthur	..	..	..	1898-1903
6.	Walter Ruthven Pym	..	..	..	1903-1908
7.	Edwin James Palmer	..	..	..	1908-1929
8.	Richard Dyke Acland	..	..	..	1929-.....

Three years afterwards the "Cotton Mania" bubble burst, and put a stop to further work. All that was completed of the great scheme was the organ chamber, built at the expense of Government; the chancel, paid for by public subscription; and the fountain outside the west entrance, designed by Gilbert Scott and erected at the sole cost of Cowasjee Jehangir Readymoney, as an act of gratitude for his prosperity, and from a desire to beautify the Cathedral, in the immediate neighbourhood of which he had spent most of his life.

Among the other Anglican Churches in Bombay the two of the greatest historical interest are the Church of St. John the Evangelist at Colaba, built in 1857 in memory of the officers, N.C.O.'s and soldiers who fell in the campaigns in Sind and Afghanistan, 1838-43; and Christ Church, Byculla. To build the latter Church, funds were raised by contributions in transferable shares of Rs. 500 and the Bishop of Calcutta headed the list, in 1831, by taking two shares.

St. Andrew's Church, at the corner of Apollo Street, was built in 1818, a few years after the East India Company, in response to the General Assembly's request, had resolved to appoint a minister of the Church of Scotland at each of the three Presidencies. A curious circumstance in its history is that an organ was used in it for divine service in 1826. "As the first instrument used in public worship in Scotland," writes a historian of this Church, "was a harmonium introduced into Old Greyfriars, Edinburgh, by Mr. Robert Lee in 1862, we have here surely a proof of the enlightenment and progressiveness of the Bombay congregation."

Owing to the fact that proselytism was discouraged by the Court of Directors, the establishment of missions in Bombay was only achieved with difficulty. Dr. Taylor, the first missionary, who arrived in 1807 was not permitted to stay on the Island. Three American missionaries—Gordon Hall, Samuel Nott and Roxanna Nott—who arrived in Bombay early in 1813 got permission, after two and a half years, to remain. As is shown in a pamphlet "The Centenary History of the Hume Memorial Church, 1827-1927," the American Marathi Mission has been distinguished by many great names—such as the Humes, Ramkrishnapant (the first Indian pastor), and Narayan Vaman Tilak, a Chitpavan Brahman, "the Marathi Church's greatest poet and hymn-composer,

whose coming to Christ (in 1895) was to be the herald of a renaissance in Maharashtrian Christianity."

Other missions quickly followed the Church Missionary Society in 1820; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1825; the Society of St. John the Evangelist in 1873; and the Wesleyan Mission in 1886. Most of these missions were in some way or other associated with education; but the seed from which sprang such undertakings as the schools of the Bombay Education Society is to be found in the Charity School which existed for nearly a century in connexion with St. Thomas' Church. In the days of Queen Anne a great religious revival took place in the Church of England which found its expression in missionary societies, the building of Churches, and the founding of free schools for poor scholars. In 1710 it was estimated that there were 42 of these schools in London and Westminster alone. This movement obviously influenced the Rev. Richard Cobbe before he came to India, for no sooner had he finished the building of the Church than he raised money for a school, which was opened in the Fort in 1718 with the object of "educating poor (European) children in the Christian religion according to the use of the Church of England." Apparently the number of scholars in the school never exceeded 12; their dress, after the English example, was a "blue Purpet gown with pantaloons" and, for headgear, a "bonnett"; and their master was paid Rs. 30 a month. But as the eighteenth century drew to a close it became evident that the Charity School could not solve the problem of European education in Bombay. In those days English soldiers, when married, did not live in separate married quarters but in barracks. When they returned home they were not allowed to take with them their wives married in the country or the children belonging to them. Such wives and children were left behind to fend for themselves as best they might. The consequence was that there were many children of European parentage, rapidly sinking to the lowest level, growing up without religion, without education, Ishmaels, with every man's hand against them. The first report of the Bombay Education Society's Committee shows that, out of 168 children whose parents or guardians applied for their admission to the schools, 18 were orphans, 67 had lost their fathers, 19 their mothers and 64 were children of indigent parents. Of the 30 boys actually admitted into the school, "eleven had never been baptised,

some were wandering through the streets as beggars, and one was supported through the charity of a Mussulman."

As a result of an appeal made by Archdeacon Barnes, in 1815, the Bombay Education Society was formed, and, as the Rev. R. C. V. Hodge shows in a history of that Society published in 1915, it was the first educational society in India to carry on its work by means of voluntary subscriptions. In its schools was first tried the experiment of grants-in-aid which now form an important part of Government's educational policy. It was the first society to undertake the task of placing in the hands of Indian scholars books in their own vernaculars. It was the first to turn its attention to the education of Indians as a thing apart from missionary enterprise (the American Marathi Mission opened a Hindu boys' school in 1815). From it sprang in 1825 the Native Education Society which, for some years, was practically the only association in Bombay concerned with the education of Indian children. Finally it made the first attempt in the Bombay Presidency to provide some form of Technical Education by purchasing the old Government Press and, later on, by founding the Apprentices' Home. In a word, it has been the founder of many educational movements which have now grown out of all proportion to their humble beginnings. But its chief work during its century of existence has been the foundation and support of the Byculla Schools and in recent years of the schools at Deolali.*

The Church Missionary Society opened their first school in 1820, and in 1835 founded an Anglo-vernacular School in memory of Robert Cotton Money. Dr. John Wilson, of the Scottish Missionary Society, and Mrs. Wilson established in 1829-30 six schools for Indian girls, and in 1832 a school for boys which later formed the nucleus of the Free General

*It was soon clear that schools were multiplying faster than the circumstances could warrant and even before building impulse had subsided schemes for amalgamation were in the air. They did not materialise, however, until our generation. In 1920 the Bombay Education Society took over the assets and responsibilities of the Indo-British Institution, which had been founded in 1838 by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In 1921 the Cathedral Schools absorbed the Frere Fletcher School for girls, which had been founded in 1864 largely through the help of the Society for promoting Christian knowledge. In 1925 the Scottish Education Society, which maintained schools in Esplanade Road and Byculla, amalgamated with the Cathedral School to form the Anglo-Scottish Education Society. Further schemes of amalgamation are on foot and it is to be hoped that they will be brought to fruition, otherwise the prospect for European education in India is very black.



THE HON MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE

From the mezzotint engraving of a portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence, R.A.

Assembly's Institution and eventually became the Wilson College with a building at Chaupati which was opened in 1889. Meanwhile the Bombay Native Education Society made steady progress, largely with the encouragement of the Governor, Mountstuart Elphinstone, in whose memory the Elphinstone College was founded, by public subscription. The Native Education Society survived until 1840 when the Board of Education was formed and the Society's schools were incorporated with the Elphinstone College classes, and all former designations were merged in that of the Elphinstone Native Education Institution. The School Department was again separated from the parent institution in 1856 and became a High School. The enterprise of the S. P. G. came a little later than that of the C. M. S. which has been referred to above. Its first missionary arrived and opened an orphanage and destitute asylum in 1838. In 1840 the Holy Trinity chapel in Sonapur was opened and the object of the Mission, which became known as the Indo-British Institution, was defined to be the promotion of the Christian education of the Indo-British community but not to the exclusion of other Christian classes. Ten years later the Mission had so far prospered that it was largely supported by local resources. Indians speaking Marathi, Tamil and Hindustani were being ministered to in their own language in 1865, and a special Mahomedan mission was started in 1872.

Until the Directors of the East India Company prescribed a properly organised department of Public Instruction, the Board of Education was responsible for education throughout the Presidency and was in direct charge of the schools in Bombay Island which in 1840 included the Elphinstone Institution and 7 vernacular schools.

At the time of the transfer of the functions of the Board to the Director of Public Instruction (1855), the number of Government institutions in Bombay island was ten, namely, the Elphinstone Institution and two branch schools, attended by 961 pupils and costing nearly Rs. 55,000 a year ; six vernacular schools attended by 560 pupils and costing Rs. 3,900 a year ; and the Grant Medical College, with 71 pupils, which was founded in 1845 and cost nearly Rs. 28,000 a year. The chief private institutions at this date were the Bombay Education Society's boys' and girls' schools, the Indo-British Institution, the Bombay Scottish Orphanage, the St. Mary's Institution, the Convent School at Parel, the Sir J. J. Parsi

Benevolent Institution, several schools of the American Mission, the Robert Money School and 12 vernacular schools belonging to the Church Missionary Society, and the Scottish Missionary Society's schools. Sectarian education was represented by the Prabhu seminary and a Bhattia school, attended also by Khojas, Memons and Lohanas, while female education, apart from missionary effort, was stimulated by the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, which supported nine vernacular free schools for girls, attended by 654 pupils, of whom 136 were Marathi-speaking Hindus, 120 Gujarati Hindus and 398 Parsis. Mahomedan education was represented by only one Hindustani school, opened by Government in Kazi Street in 1834 ; for the bulk of the Mahomedan population evinced no ardent desire for education on western lines and were quite content with the ability to read or recite the Koran.

From that time onwards progress was rapid, and only a few of the more important developments can be noted here. Mountstuart Elphinstone had written that "it is difficult to imagine an undertaking in which our duty, our interest and our honour are more immediately concerned" than in advancing education. In 1854 the Board of Directors wrote a despatch in which they said that "it is one of our most sacred duties to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connection with England." In 1853 Sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoy offered a lakh of rupees towards the foundation of an Art School, and the drawing classes of that school were opened in 1857.*

The development of this institution from these humble beginnings forms one of the most interesting and stimulating incidents in the field of educational enterprise in British India. The Bombay Government added continuously and very largely to the sum donated by the founder of this, the first Government School of Art in India ; the first definitely progressive step was the appointment in 1865 of Mr. John Griffiths, a painter, Mr. Lockwood Kipling, a sculptor, and

*It was while Mr. Lockwood Kipling was in charge of the sculpture studio of the school that Rudyard Kipling was born—"between the palms and the sea, where the world-end steamers wait"—in a house, which is said to have occupied the site of the Director's bungalow, in the compound of the school.

Mr. Higgins, a metal worker, to direct, independently, the different sections of the school. Mr. Kipling's classes were established in the present compound in a modest structure which is still utilised ; since then other more spacious buildings have been erected. In 1880 Mr. Lockwood Kipling went to Lahore to start a Government School of Art there. Mr. John Griffiths, who then took up the direction of the united branches of the School, spent 11 years in the task of guiding his students in copying the old Buddhist mural paintings of the Ajanta Caves and in writing his admirable book on the subject.

The Bombay School of Art (as it is popularly termed) has enjoyed the personal patronage of the Governors of Bombay since the days of Sir Bartle Frere ; and partly in consequence of this, a great deal of public interest has centred in its development in recent years under the late Mr. Cecil L. Burns and the present Director, Mr. W. E. Gladstone Solomon. The School's history has from the beginning been that of an active pioneer, in many branches of art. In 1919 Lord Lloyd, then Governor of Bombay, encouraged the establishment of classes of mural painting, and the organising of advanced Life Classes ; and the expansion of the Architectural Section of this Art School, which is now the largest in the Empire. Since the beginning of these advanced courses the number of students and their influence have widely increased. That influence has always been strongly opposed to the vague, theoretical, and mystical ideas in art criticism which have emanated from Bengal since about 1900 ; the Bombay School has advocated a system of practical instruction in art education. There has been sharp public controversy over this energetic Bombay Revival, as the school has carried its reconstructive work in Indian Art considerably beyond the sentimental restricted teaching of the " New Bengal School " which its founder, Mr. Havell, based upon archaisms, and which (though to some extent patronised in Europe) has never secured like anything the widespread popular support which the Indian public have accorded to the Western Indian movement. The Bombay School draws its inspiration from the many famous and incomparable monuments of ancient Indian painting, sculpture, and architecture which are situated in Western India, and on the other hand continues the broad tradition of the Moghuls by refusing to confine its sources of artistic inspiration within geographical limits, allowing its students the same freedom of access to the world-arena of selection as is afforded to their fellow students in the West.

It was in 1859 that the University of Bombay held its first matriculation examination ; but its buildings, by Sir Gilbert Scott, to which Sir Cowasji Jehangir and Mr. Premchand Raichand liberally contributed, were not completed until 15 years later. Its constitution has more than once been modified, notably by an Act of 1904 ; and again by an Act of 1928, which altered it so as to bring it into closer touch with the commercial and civic life of the people, and to enable it to provide greater facilities for higher education in all branches of learning.

The history of the movement which led to the adoption of compulsory primary education in Bombay is well summarised in Mr. Masani's " Evolution of local self-government in Bombay " and need not be repeated here. But the beginning of it may well be stressed, for it not only illustrates the way in which Bombay has often led the rest of India but is an example of the progressive tendency sometimes shown by the Mahomedan community. It was Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, one of the many men of distinction trained in the arts of public life in the hard school of the Municipal Corporation, who first mooted this question. In 1902, in the Legislative Council, he said that the time was coming, if it had not already come, when Government would have seriously to think of making primary education free and compulsory. For three successive years after that he pressed for this reform, at least as an experimental measure in the city of Bombay ; but, as events were to show, he was nearly 20 years ahead of contemporary thought.

It would be impossible in a book of this kind to do more than indicate the number of Hindu temples of which Bombay can boast. They were enumerated and described, in 1900, in a monograph by Mr. K. Raghunathji. They are said to number 400, being for the most part capable of classification in groups. One talks, for example, of Bhuleshwar temple ; but there are more than 40 separate shrines there. Other great groups of shrines are at Walkeshwar, Byculla, Mahalakshmi and so on. To the non-Hindu the best known of all these is the Babulnath temple—on the south-east part of Malabar Hill near the steps leading to the Parsi Towers of Silence—which is depicted in the foreground of countless paintings of " Bombay seen from Malabar Hill. No exhibition of the Bombay Art Society can be thought complete without half a dozen such sketches. The original shrine was

built in 1780, but the present spire and pillared hall and terrace were completed as recently as 1900.

In the heart of the city is the Bhuleshwar temple, which some say was built about 600 years ago, with a dome notable for the ingenuity of its construction and a *lingam* of peculiar sanctity. In the city also is the temple of Mumbadevi, which once stood somewhere within the limits of the Victoria Terminus of the G. I. P. Railway, and from whose name the English word Bombay is derived. Mumba, according to the late Dewan Bahadur P. B. Joshi, is derived from Amba, another name of Bhawani, the consort of Shiva. "As the goddess Kali is sometimes called Mahakali or the great Kali, so Amba is also called Maha Amba or the great Amba, and by the Kolis and other illiterate persons, the word Maha-Amba is generally pronounced as Mamba or Mumba. The suffix *Ai* signifying mother is a term of respect applied to Hindu goddesses. The word Mumbai is, therefore, derived from the words Maha+Amba+Ai=Mumbai; and evidently the word Bombay (Portuguese *Bombaim*) is the corruption of the word Mumbai."

The Mahomedan mosques in Bombay are much less numerous than the temples. There are about 90 of them altogether, of which the majority belong to the Sunni Mahomedans. The most noteworthy is the Jumma Mosque, which has been moved more than once until being built on its present site in Sheikh Memon Street. One of the most remarkable features of it is that it is supported on arches built out of a tank. Other noteworthy mosques are the old mosque near the tomb of Sheikh Makhtum Fakih Ali at Mahim, the Jakaria Masjid in Mandvi, Sattad Masjid near Masjid Bandar station, Ismail Habib Masjid in Memonwada, the Khoja Ashna Ashari Masjid, the Mughal Masjid on Jail Road, and the Bohra Masjid to the west of the Jama Masjid.

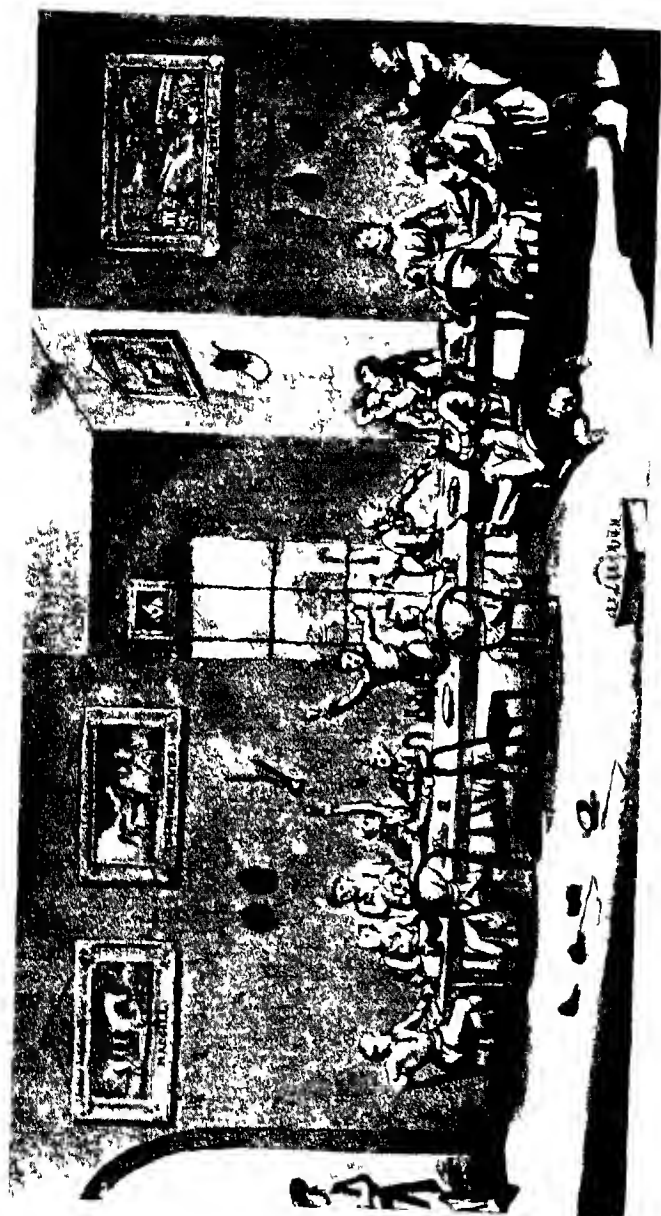
The Parsis have a number of fire temples in Bombay of which Dady Seth's Atash Behram, in Girgaum, is the oldest having been opened in 1783.

CHAPTER X.—SOCIAL DIVERSIONS

"Much time might be agreeably passed if music, as an accomplishment, were more cultivated—for it would increase sociability and win many from less graceful pastimes; but, unfortunately, all the machinery of the fine arts is procured with difficulty and it is therefore only among persons of extraordinary energy that their practice is continued.....A very excellent chemist's shop is established in the Fort which disseminates the blessing of soda water over the whole Presidency".—*The Hand-book of British India*, By J. H. Stocquer, Third edition, 1854.

MANY of the present day residents in Bombay have witnessed—and it is to be hoped are grateful for—one of the greatest social revolutions the world has experienced, the application of electricity to the everyday affairs of life. Electric light, punkahs, preservation of food, cooking stoves and heating apparatus—each of these has made life easier and pleasanter, how much easier only those can say who remember the old overhead flapping punkahs, the smelly charcoal sigries over which clothes were dried in the monsoon, and the oil lamps which mysteriously transferred their flavour (by way of the *mash'alchi's* dish cloth) to one's food. But changes like that, and the automatic telephone—which was introduced in Bombay as long ago as 1924—the advantages of motors and electric trams, the speeding up of communications by sea and air, are matters in which the whole world is concerned. It is rather with what concerns the social life of Bombay only, and that too during the two and a half centuries since the cession of the Island to the English, that these concluding pages can deal.

The cold weather provides a good starting point in this brief survey. With the cold weather, and the cutting of the rice, come the snipe; and it is odd to reflect that, although shooting in Bombay is a thing of the past, many generations found good sport on the Island. Aungier may have shot here and have told the venerable joke which survives in a letter he wrote from Surat in 1667. "Mr. Chune and Mr. Portman have killed a brave buck . . . Mr. Master and I were out two dayes, and killed een (?) Kootchny." Burnell, when surveying Colaba about 1710, "used to meet some pleasure" trying to shoot jackals. "They would fly like the wind and were always too nimble for me, for I never could



In the scene in the hall, the members of the Byculla Club are seen. By the
 Puller's side, the members of the Byculla Club are seen.

shoot one." Better sport than that was obtainable in later years when land had been reclaimed. As late as the 'eighties there was good snipe shooting in the neighbourhood of the Byculla Club, and the late Mr. J. D. Inverarity, famous as a lawyer and a shikari, once shot 26 couple of snipe on the site of the present race course and had also shot duck, golden plover and a bittern in that locality.

It was better to hunt the jack than to try to shoot him. There was in the early years of the 19th century a famous "bobbery" pack in Bombay, and to hunt with it was to enter upon a series of adventures, in which eating and drinking took an important part, for the greater part of the day. Descriptions of it survive in a series of little drawings by a soldier named Temple, preserved at the India Office—of which there are copies in the Jackal Club—and in that remarkable and very obscure work "The Grand Master, or Adventures of Qui Hi in Hindostan," which was published in 1816 with illustrations by the celebrated caricaturist Thomas Rowlandson. "Qui Hi" rode out at dawn to the meet at Byculla, and the hunt moved off "in all directions" to Love Grove (after a pie dog), from there to Girgaum—where he fell on to a prickly pear—and then to tiffin at Bobb'ry Hall on Malabar Hill.

What rounds of beef, hampers of beer,
What jumping powder they had here,
It is impossible to tell—

The story is not exaggerated. There is a report in *The Bombay Courier* of 1810 of "a meet" when the programme consisted of breakfast at Malabar Point at 9 A.M., a sharp trot to "the Breach (Hornby Vellard), Love Grove and Varli, ending up with tiffin at one o'clock in Mahim. Then by way of Sion and Mazagon to Hope Hall, where dinner was served at 6 P.M." More serious hunting dates from about 1830, when the "Bombay Foxhounds" were in existence and when foxes, sent down from Poona, were turned down in the Parel district. But the Bombay Hunt, in the proper sense of the term, dates from the early 'sixties.

The "Graham Trophy," presented for Point-to-Point Racing to the hunting community by Mr. J. N. Graham, commemorates, in the terms of its inscription, the "origin of hunting" with the arrival, in 1868, of the first pack of hounds sent out by the donor of the Trophy to Mr. Donald Graham in that year. Thereafter, writes Mr. R. C. Giles in a brief account of the Bombay Hunt, the succession of packs annually

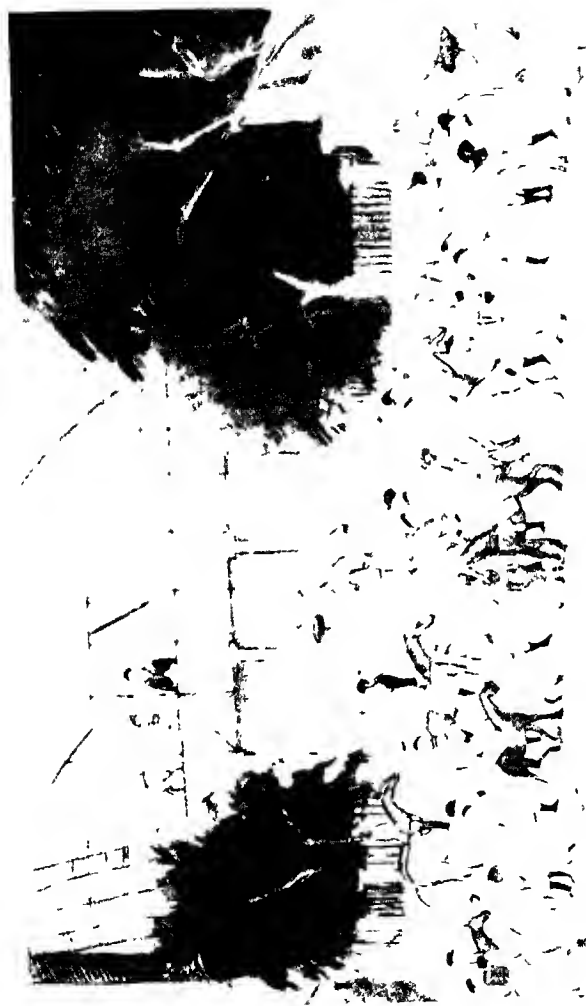
imported has been practically unbroken. As late as 1884, and doubtless later, hounds were kennelled in a big bungalow at Worli, whence they hunted the north of Bombay Island and may perhaps have made occasional forays into distant Salsette. In 1889 the Bombay Jackal Club was formed and inaugurated a Tent Club at Santa Cruz, evidence that by that time Salsette had become entirely or in part the venue for the Meets of the Hunt. The next move was to Kennels in Bandra and from there the hunting was, of course, confined entirely to Salsette.

In 1900 the Kennels were transferred to Santa Cruz—a site which was then and for many years afterwards ideal, having regard to the facilities which it offered for rapid communication with Bombay city and, as yet, unspoilt country at its very doors. Slowly, however, the growth of housing has encroached upon the hunting country—spreading inland, eastwards from the Railway and during the last decade development has been expedited by Garden Cities, a proper water supply, new roads, electrified train services and latterly, the Electricity Company. This development has naturally encouraged land purchase and the owners of plots in most cases have wired them off, with the inevitable sequel so far as hunting goes.

The next move outwards has already been decided upon, that is to the far stretching fields of Chola, in the Kalyan country, and the long connection with the beautiful island of Salsette is thus regretfully severed.

Racing in Bombay has a long and chequered history, dating at least from 1797. By 1800 or thereabouts the Bombay Turf Club had been formed and was giving prizes “with a view to encourage the breeding of horses by gentlemen in Bombay and its dependencies.” The oldest existing part of the Byculla Club*, which formed the original race stand,

*The first club in Bombay was the Sans Souci, founded in 1785, which had no premises of its own but met for convivial feasts in Duncan Cameron's tavern. The preliminary meeting for the foundation of a permanent club with premises was held in 1832, and by June of the following year the club, which had until then been called the Bombay Club, was established as the Byculla Club in the Byculla Assembly Rooms. The present Bombay Club was founded on the dissolution of the Indian Navy Club in 1862. The Yacht Club as a properly established institution dates from 1880. The Orient Club, founded as a social meeting place for Indians and English, dates from 1900, and moved into its own building at Chaupati in 1910. The Willingdon Sports Club, which has extended the idea embodied in the Orient Club, owes its origin to Lord Willingdon (Governor of Bombay, 1913-18). It was founded in 1917 and has not only provided grounds for polo, golf and lawn tennis but has thereby reclaimed a great area of the desolate Tardeo flats.



P. B. L. N.



From the drawings by Private Temple in the India Office Library

was built in 1821 ; and in the Club garden opposite to it there still remains the weighing room—on the top of which the judge's box used to be situated ; and near it a curious masonry structure which was once the Aga Khan's own private stand. Racing on a small scale was successfully conducted on the Byculla course for many years, but as houses were gradually built inside the course its disadvantages became apparent. In 1864 there was talk of forming a West of India Turf Club which would become the accepted authority in racing matters for all stations in the Presidency, a better Grand Stand was required, and the question arose whether a new course was not desirable in the place of the strip of "dusty stoney road which now does duty as a course at Byculla." The move to the Byculla Flats was not made until 1878, and then it was a failure because the new course was even more dusty than that at Byculla and the "evil odours" were not to be endured. In 1882 the Byculla course was finally abandoned, the new course gradually became popular and in due course the Turf Club, which waxed fat on the proceeds of the totalisator and had not yet been heavily taxed by the local Government, was able to spend lavishly both on providing for the pleasure of the public and on making stakes attractive. When the final move was made, to a site slightly nearer the Hornby Vellard than the old one, new and more up-to-date stands were built ; and, under the enthusiastic direction of the late Major J. E. Hughes (who was also largely responsible for the rebuilding of the Breach Candy swimming baths and the splendid arrangement of the grounds there) one of the finest and most comfortable courses in the world was laid out.

There is no exact record of when cricket, football, golf and other games were introduced into Bombay. But the Royal Bombay Golf Club was founded in 1842 and the Gazetteer records that in that year the Secretary, Dr. G. Buist, received a letter from the Secretary of the Blackheath Golf Club, which after congratulating Bombay golfers upon the establishment of a club, informed the committee that the Captain of the Bombay Club should consider himself *ex-officio* an honorary member of the Blackheath Golf Club. The letter also expressed a hope that Bombay would in time be in a position to send a deputation to compete upon the Blackheath links, to which Dr. Buist replied in humorous terms, pointing out *inter alia* that the first printed notice of the game as played in Bombay had been despatched to England by the same packet which carried General Pollock's account of the forcing

of the Khyber Pass and Sir Robert Sale's victory at Jellalabad. In 1843 Dr. Buist sent a second letter to the Blackheath Golf Club, informing the members that a medal, which the Bombay Club had decided to present to their Blackheath brethren, had been despatched by steamer in July and appeared to have been lost in the wreck of the *Memnon*, and that therefore he was despatching a duplicate medal for presentation to the Club. This medal, for which an annual competition is held, is still in the possession of the Blackheath Club. The Bombay Golf Club subsequently died and was more than once revived before arriving in the process of time at its present healthy condition. For a long time Bombay had to be content with links on the Esplanade and Marine Lines maidans and the Oval. Another course was added when the Willingdon Sports Club was founded, but before and since that time a search was made for suitable ground for links outside Bombay. Eventually a fresh Golf Club came into existence in 1922, the Presidency Golf Club, which was able to make an exceptionally long 18-holes course on the Mazagon-Sewri reclamation.

Other sporting clubs, for cricket and other games, came into existence during the early and middle parts of the nineteenth century and continued until 1875 when they were amalgamated in one—the Bombay Gymkhana Club, which nobly aimed at offering “to young sportsmen of small means the opportunity of indulging their proclivities at a minimum cost to themselves and at a maximum production of enjoyment to the general public.” Its inception was due principally to two officers of the Royal Engineers—Capt. E. L. Marryat and Lieut. C. L. Young. The Clubs thus happily incorporated to the great benefit of Bombay were the then existing separate Cricket, Polo, Football and Gun Clubs. The Boat Club was incorporated in the following year. The Royal Bombay Golf Club retained its separate existence.

The Gymkhana Club started from very small beginnings, the first concession it obtained from Government being the privilege of erecting upon the maidan “a pavilion of such a construction as will admit of easy and speedy removal.” That pavilion was built in 1876, and in 1879 the Club got permission to enclose a plot of land on condition that it should be resumable on seven days' notice. In 1905 the Club was granted a 99 years' lease of the land and a new pavilion was built.

The example thus set by the English was followed by one community after another. A Parsi Cricket Club, known as

the Oriental Cricket Club, came into existence so long ago as 1848. But the Parsi Gymkhana, on the Kennedy Sea-face, was not opened until 1888. By then the Parsis had already sent one XI on tour in England, in 1886, and a second went in 1888. The Hindu Gymkhana, which arose out of a Hindu cricket club that had been established in 1878, came into being in the early 'nineties and, like every cricket club in Bombay, owed much to the help given by that famous sportsman Lord Harris who was then Governor of Bombay. The Islam Gymkhana also dates from that period. From these developments there naturally followed inter-Gymkhana matches. In 1892 the Parsis played not simply against an XI from the Bombay Gymkhana but a team of Europeans chosen from the Presidency. This international cricket was extended when the Hindus came in on a triangular tournament, and after 1911—when an All-India XI went on tour in England—the Mahomedans joined the contest and the quadrangular tournament was established.

The reclamation of part of Back Bay obviously means more and better playing grounds and open spaces. The way is thus laid open for a better organisation than has so far been possible, especially of football, hockey and baseball; and there are many who regard the establishment of the Western India Football Association, in 1931, as affording the best reason for hoping that Bombay will some day get the Stadium about which it has long talked. The W.I.F.A., which owes much to the enthusiasm of Sir Joseph Kay, Mr. A. C. Hinrichs, and Mr. J. J. Watson, has for one of its objects the promotion of association football and all other forms of athletic sports and pastimes.

It is easier to look back than forward, but even so history provides abundant surprises. One is apt to think of previous generations behaving in very much the same way as that of to-day, except for eccentricities in the matter of dress and of whiskers. Yet the history of such institutions as the Byculla Club or the Bombay Gymkhana affords constant and sometimes startling surprises. For instance, the members of the Byculla Club have in the past diverted themselves with skittles (in a shed), sticky (in the Court that was later divided into squash courts) and croquet, in addition to cricket, tennis, golf and—many years ago—with mounted sports and races round the compound on a course that had to be abandoned because of its fearsome corners. The Gymkhana has an even more

diversified record which includes archery contests on the Marine Lines maidan, a skating rink, "Indian Lawn Tennis" (a game now extinct but said to have been much played in the early 'eighties) gymnastics and boxing in the central hall of the club house, and bowls—with artificial lighting since the beginning of the century. The Boat Club has had particularly strange vicissitudes, moving from Apollo Bandar to Mahim and, in 1892, to Bandra before finding a home on the short of Back Bay.

Yachting, which as a sport is not indigenous to India, is known to have been introduced in some sort of organised form—as a "healthful and scientific recreation"—by 1830. A great variety of boats and rigs was at first recorded, the majority of the yachts being apparently the shore boats kept by merchants and officials for the purpose of visiting ships in harbour though the presence of larger yachts is a reminder that travel by water was then one of the principal means of transport. The native lateen rig was most in favour and in a regatta held in 1839 all the yachts entered for one race were so rigged. This rig continued popular in spite of its disadvantages in tacking to windward and the risk of capsize should the sail be taken aback, though as early as 1887 a 3 ton Clyde built cutter had been imported and demonstrated the superiority of the English fore and aft rig. In 1904, however, a lateen yacht capsized off Middle Ground and two occupants were drowned, the rest narrowly escaping with their lives. After that accident, lateen yachts went out of use in Bombay. A club to control yacht racing was formed early in the century but it had no fixed home and it was not until 1880, during the time Sir Henry Morland was Commodore, that the site now occupied by the Royal Bombay Yacht Club was obtained from the Bombay Port Trust on lease, and the Club house—only a small part of the much extended building of to-day—was built, and the Admiralty Warrant to fly the Blue Ensign was received. In 1892 the Bombay Sailing Association came into existence with the purpose of holding handicap races throughout the season. Yachting, however, languished until 1895 when it was decided that all yacht racing in Bombay should in future be held under the auspices of the Royal Bombay Yacht Club. It was about that time too that yachting received a great impetus from the institution of a one design class of small 18 ft. centreboard boats, designed by Linton Hope, which was named the "Tomtit" class and brought yachting within the reach of men of small means and

from the enthusiasm of men like the late Mr. C. T. R. Scovell who later built a schooner of 110 tons in Bombay and, in 1909, sailed her from Bombay to England.

Shortly after the close of the Great War the Sailing Committee of the R. B. Y. C. decided that the yachts of the still popular Tomtit class were no longer sufficiently uniform to give good one design racing and that a new small one design class, with plans that should be strictly adhered to, was desirable. They accordingly instructed Morgan Giles to prepare plans for an improved Tomtit class, and he designed a 21-foot centreboard yacht, much on the lines of his Nore one design, which was adopted as the Seabird class. The first of them, Mollyhawk, was built in the R.I.M. dockyard early in 1921 for Captain Headlam, the then flag officer, commanding the R.I.M. The seabirds caught on well and proved very popular, particularly after Mr. F. C. M. St. Paul had demonstrated that not only did they give excellent one design racing but, being larger than Tomtits, were more suitable for day picnics and that when properly fitted out they could be used for cruising. The class by 1929 numbered 21. Notable cruises in the class have been :—Messrs. Duke and St. Paul sailed a new seabird Penguin from Cochin to Bombay in 1923 (600 miles) ; Capt. E. F. W. Mackenzie cruised in Osprey to the Tadri River and back in 1925 (600 miles) ; Mr. and Mrs. Cock sailed Fulmar from Bombay to Colombo at Christmas, 1931 (over 900 miles).

Milder diversions than those already mentioned, such as picnics, must always have been popular ; but they have changed in character as much as anything in recent years. Before Bombay had become British the President at Surat had set the fashion of elaborate garden parties on Sundays (after sermon and dinner) when he and his lady would go forth in palanquins with " a noise of trumpets " and preceded by peons carrying " St. George his colours swallow-tailed in silk ; " the Members of Council following in coaches drawn by oxen ; and the factors on horseback with saddles of velvet, and reins and cruppers covered with silver. Something of the kind was introduced in Bombay also. Burnell gives a graphic account of the Governor going for a picnic to Girgaum in the early 18th century :—

“ Hither the General often comes, when he is minded to take the air, attended with the gentry and ladies of the Island, some in palkanquins, some in coaches and others on horseback,

always going in great splendor, with led horses, the Silver Staff and Union Flag carried before him, which since my departure is much augmented, having now a squadron of horse to wait and attend his commands, clothed in rich liveries, their other accoutrements being answerable. Being arrived and alighted, a curious cold collation is orderly set forth on large Persian carpets, under the spreading shade of lofty trees, where variety of wine and musick exolurate the spirits to a chearful liveliness and render every object divertive. He sometimes orders out his tents and stays the whole day, not confining himself to any one part of the Island, but where his inclinations lead him to, where nothing but joy and mirth abound in pleasant songs and dances, till the night calls him to his duty in the Castle, out of which he never reposeseth."

Readers of the books of memoirs relating to Bombay will find many descriptions of picnics on a less stately scale than that just quoted, particularly of expeditions to Elephanta. The most celebrated visit to Elephanta—partly picnic, partly scientific expedition—was that described by Capt. Basil Hall, R.N., in his "Fragments of voyages and travels," a visit which led to William Erskine writing a description of the caves which has now become a classic. The way in which it was planned in the real picnic spirit is well worth quoting:—

"The fascinations of society at Bombay, in the particular circle to whose intimacy I had the happiness to be admitted on these occasions, were certainly very great; and, in a pretty extensive experience since, I have hardly found them matched. To think of studying, to any good purpose, the mouldering antiquities of the Hindoos, or of speculating with spirit on the manners and customs of the existing generation of the natives, while the conversation of such specimens of my own country folks lay within reach, was totally out of the question. And this feeling being shared by all the party, it was considered a most brilliant idea to unite the two sources of interest in one expedition.

"Why should we not," said one of the ladies, (who, alas! is now no more) "why should we not make a regular expedition in a body to Elephanta? Not for a mere visit of an hour or two, but to remain a week or ten days, during which we might examine the caves at leisure, draw them, describe them, and, in short, perform such a course of public antiquarian services as were never before undertaken?"

The notion was eagerly caught up by the company; one of whom, an officer of the engineers, called out:

"I'll send over a couple of tents, to be pitched before the mouth of the cave; one for the ladies, the other for the attendants and kitchen, while the gentlemen may pick out the softer bits of pavement within the cave to spread their beds on."

"I'll send cooks" I cried another.

"I'll be the caterer of our mess," shouted a third, "and take care of the commissariat department."

"And I," said a gentleman, who alone of all the party now lingers on the spot, though it is nearly twenty years since those merry days, "I shall see that you have wine enough, and plenty of Hodgson's pale ale."

As another example of the unusual may be cited the following from a MS. account of an overland journey to India in 1800-01 by Col. Bruce, a brother of Lord Elgin :—"Mr. Nesbit gave a special entertainment (14 Feb. 1801) at Signiora da Monta, a Church beautifully situated on a high ground, almost opposite to Mahim. It is on the Island of Salsette and has a very commanding prospect, and is much frequented by gentlemen disposed to make parties of pleasure from Bombay. It was the first time I ever dined in a Church, but as Divine Service was now never performed it did not so much signify. The Church seems to have been forsaken for lack of funds to support it and that is occasioned by the decline of the Roman Catholic persuasion in this country."

For more prolonged change of air, than could be obtained by a picnic, no matter how elaborate—at a time when the hill stations of Matheran and Mahabaleshwar had yet to be discovered and made accessible—one could go, as Colonel Dow did in April-May 1770, to "Dillinagogue (apparently the modern Vajreshwari) in the Mahrattas country inland, over against Bombay," or to "Bencoot, one of our settlements, a fine airy situation as any in India. People are sent there just as gentlemen are sent from England to Lisbon or the South of France, for the benefit of their health." John Macdonald, the 18th century footman who wrote his memoirs, has left a graphic account of how his master Col. Dow and his party went to Dillinagogue. "We set off in a large boat, with sails, across the sea, and entered the great river of Tannah, with a vessel following us with all the necessities for an empty house, servants, two havaldars or sepoy sergeants, twelve sepoys, with their arms, four palankins, with eight men for each, four saddle horses, with their keepers. We had plenty of provisions with us for two days in the boats. I was greatly delighted and thought it was a pleasant thing to live under the East India Company." At Tannah they got a passport from the Governor, went on up the river—the gentlemen drinking punch and singing till they fell asleep and two servants playing French horns—till they landed "at

the Bundy (Bhiwandi), a pleasant town " from which they went by land, " up a valley about fifteen miles long," to the hot wells. There " houses were made and covered with branches of trees. The building of a house would cost eighteen half-crowns.....There is plenty of fish, fowl, mutton, wild-boar, hares and other provisions cheap. The gentlemen drank the waters, dressed, played at cards, and after dinner slept an hour or two ; then in the afternoon they rode out on horse-back and in the evening played at cards again." The party stayed at the hot wells—" the pleasantest place I ever saw "—for five weeks.

The same author, John Macdonald, gives an account of *Bencot (Bankoot) or Fort Victoria—a castle " on a high hill near the sea "—where his master derived great benefit from the air and from " taking the bark." From there they went 40 miles up a river to " Darygan " where there were hot wells and " the waters were as hot as at Bath in England." James Forbes, celebrated as the author of " Oriental Memoirs," visited Bankot in 1771 and was enthusiastic about the beauty of the scenery there.

It was presumably owing to the danger involved in visiting such health resorts during the Maratha wars that the various hot wells subsequently went out of favour, at any rate so far as the English population of Bombay was concerned. Later on advantage could be taken of the climate of the Deccan, and places like Poona and Nasik became generally known as affording a welcome change from Bombay. After the capture of Poona, in 1817, a large cantonment was established at Sirur ; but the troops had been moved back to Poona by 1824 when Sir Edward and Lady West went there on a visit. Was it only the climate of Bombay that led to so much sickness and so many premature deaths even in the 19th century ? The tragedy revealed in the Memoirs of Lady West (" Bombay in the days of George IV") suggests that after a century and half of experience in Bombay the English method of life and the practice of the medical profession were almost as little

*Bankot (or Fort Victoria) in the Dapoli *taluka* of Ratnagiri District, at the mouth of the Savitri river, 73 miles south-east from Bombay. In the beginning of the 18th century it was a pirate nest of the Maratha chief Angria. It was the first British possession on the mainland of Western India. It was renamed Fort Victoria and was highly valued as supplying Bombay with provisions especially beef, and also as affording the inhabitants a change of air and scene. Until 1822 Bankot was the chief town of Ratnagiri District. It is now little more than a large fishing village.

suited to the conditions of Western India as in the first days of the British occupation. The mortality among the King's judges was extraordinarily high. "There was a rot among them," as an unsympathetic historian has noted. When Sir Edward West was added to that list of distinguished judges cut short in their early manhood he was at Poona. "He takes," wrote Lady West in her diary four days before his death, "three calomel powders a day, of I suppose 20 grains each, and they cannot get the fever under; he has had an immense blister put on to the back of his neck." It is an obvious inference that they were giants in those days.

In the hot weather those who could not leave Bombay could find a change of air and abode by going to live in temporary quarters on the Esplanade—a term of which the meaning has gradually become restricted in proportion as the wide stretch of open ground outside the Fort has been built over. Mrs. Postans, the author of "Western India," described in 1838 how the Esplanade used to be adorned with "pretty, cool, temporary residences, erected near the sea; their chuppered roofs and rustic porches half concealed by the flowering creepers and luxuriant shrubs, which shade them from the mid-day glare." These bungalows and offices were made, she says, of bamboo and plaster lined with dungaree (a coarse, unbleached cloth) dyed a pale straw colour. "The expense of erecting a comfortable bungalow varies from about six to eight hundred rupees; at the approach of the monsoon, the occupants of these fragile residences take down and house such of the building materials as may be available for the following season and retire to more substantial dwellings; these are to be found either within the Fort, or at Girgaum, Byculla, Chintz Poogly, (Chinchpokli) and other places beyond the bazaars, where European residents have erected groups of *packa* built and handsome houses, with excellent gardens and offices attached. The rents of well situated residences of this description are usually very high and persons of limited means are constrained to retire to smaller dwellings, many of which are scattered about among the cocoanut woods at the distance of about four miles from the port; these are considered feverish localities and moreover swarm with insects of every description."

Up to the early years of this century the annual migration to the Esplanade continued. Sir Stanley Reed, in a paper before the East India Association, has related that in the late

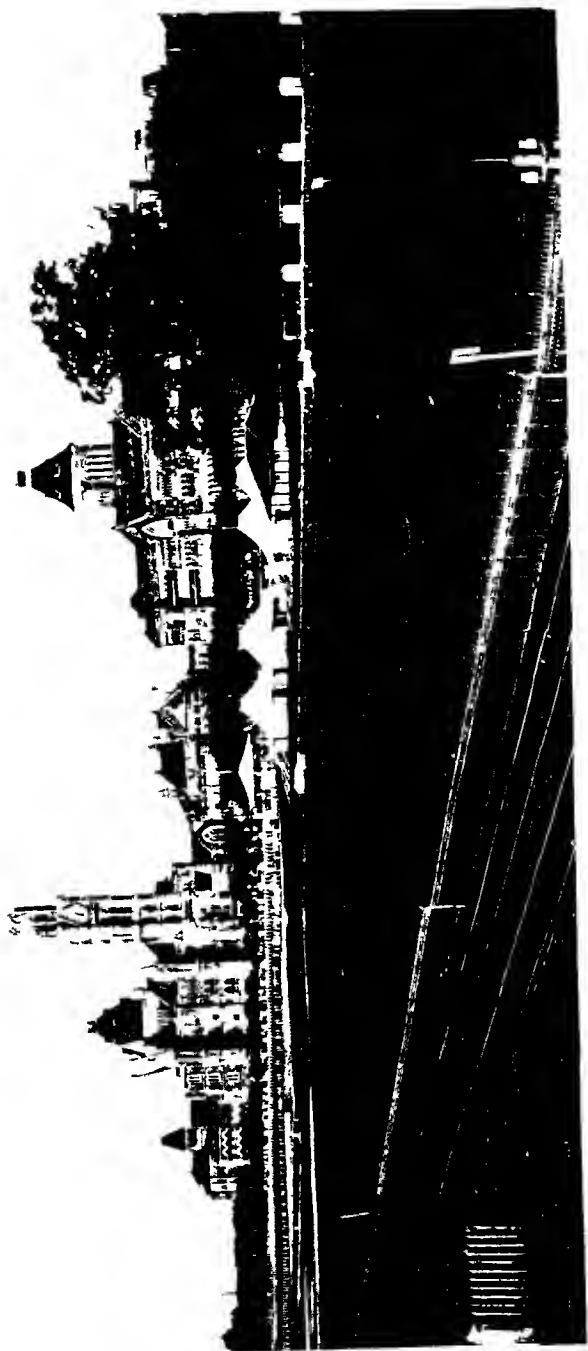
'nineties " the tents still rose like mushrooms on the Cooperage and in Marine Lines every cold weather ; and it was from one of these that a fertile Frenchman, entangled in an unwellcome engagement, used to write to his impatient fiancée telling how every morning he had to remove the heaped plague corpses before he could emerge."

Duels and challenges to duels must have been frequent in Bombay, especially in those early days, in the 17th century, when a chirurgien noted the " irregularity and intemperance " of the inhabitants. There was a Captain Minchin of one of the Company's ships who fought Mr. Hornigold, a factor, with the result that they were suspended from their offices and fined. President Aungier characterised this as " the usuall effect of that accursed Bombay Punch, to the shame, scandall, and ruine of our nation and religion." A far more curious affair, which ended in a satisfactory apology instead of a duel, occurred in 1826 when the Governor, Mountstuart Elphinstone, challenged Sir Edward West, the Chief Justice, to a duel. Those were the days *par excellence* of scandal and bad temper.

" Mr. Norton, the loud-voiced Advocate-General to the Bombay Government, had been challenged by a Mr. Browne but had refused to go out with him. Martin West (Sir E. West's nephew) had been insulted by Mr. Norris, a member of the Bombay Government, and had been obliged to demand an apology ; Mr. Graham, an attorney, had libelled and had challenged Mr. Irwin, a barrister, and, on the challenge being declined, had horsewhipped him. Mr. Warden had circulated a defamatory paper, aspersing the character of Mr. Graham ; and trials for assault and libel occupied the attention of the Supreme Court. In this stormy atmosphere it must have occurred to those who were smarting under Sir E. West's recent charge to the Grand Jury, and to whom an independent King's Court was a standing inconvenience, that the Chief Justice might with advantage be provoked into fighting a duel."

That attempt at provocation is narrated in the letters of Sir Edward West,* and none can read them, or the diary of Lady West without concluding that she was justified in a pathetic outburst of feeling :—" Can there be such another place on the face of the earth for odd, and I might say blackguard, people and things as Bombay ?"

* " Bombay in the days of George IV.," p. 225.



THE SILENT AND IT CON VOUTION HAIL CLOCK TOWFI AND THE HIGH COUNTRY
A photograph taken in the days when birds still take much as the C peria and in Vmme Lines c y cold catho ,

An even more famous incident in the social history of Bombay is commemorated by an inscribed tablet on the top of Bhandarwada hill. It was from there, or thereabouts, that Eliza Draper—famous in literary history as Sterne's Eliza—eloped with Captain Sir John Clark. She let herself down to his ship, tradition says, by a rope from a window. Her many admirers do not seem to have given her full credit for her gymnastic achievement down the steep face of the hill: but perhaps prowess on a rope ladder was one of those "elegant accomplishments" which 18th century amorists took for granted. In any case the story can have lost nothing in the telling in after years when the rank and beauty of Bombay went for the evening drive on the Esplanade. "Bombay," wrote Mrs. Postans a hundred years or so ago, "is, all in all, a cheerful, agreeable and lovely spot. . . . The present rapid communication with Europe has introduced a very superior class of ideas and interests; and among other advantages, are many of a literary kind—reviews, papers, periodicals and books, arrive before their novelty is dimmed in Europe; thus all intelligence of interest is discussed and every means of gaining information easily acquired. General topics of policy or news warm conversation made up before of far less worthy matter; and the arts and graces of life no longer fade, for want of material to renew their charms. The new music of an opera may be procured before its first season is past, and the ladies of the Presidency can appear as fashionably attired during the evening drive on the Esplanade as a Parisian belle, lolling in her elegant britska on the Champs Elysees."

The wise and witty Lady Falkland a few years later expressed a less favourable opinion of Bombay society and its small talk. Mrs. Postans no doubt exaggerated, and it was not for nothing that Scandal Point was to acquire its name, which survived even when the Apollo Bandar became the centre of fashion at which young bloods, often wearing silk hats, would walk from carriage to carriage and pass the time of day with formality that has now disappeared. The introduction of motor cars* (and aeroplanes) has to a great extent done away with all that. Even the rigour of calling, which 20 or 30 years ago was a sacred social institution, has been remarkably relaxed. So too have the entertainments at Government House changed in many ways. A hundred

* The first car registered in Bombay (a 12 h.p. Orleans) was in the name of Mr. R. A. Lamb. That was in 1905. Soon after came the famous motor trials—Bombay to Mahabaleshwar and Bombay to Delhi.

years ago the "public breakfast" at Government House, Parel, on two days a week was a function that every visitor of standing was expected to attend.

Those who judge Bombay by its "talkies" do it an injustice. There have been times—and not very long ago—when the theatre has flourished in Bombay stimulated by the annual visit of the Bandman Company, or an Italian Opera Company, or the occasional visit of such stars as Matheson Lang. But on the whole the theatre in Bombay has had a fitful existence. One theatre was built by subscription in 1770, and more than one picture shows it as standing on the Green which is now Elphinstone Circle. An advertisement published in 1811 stated that "no gentleman was allowed behind the scenes:" but society is not to be undermined by any *hookum* of that kind, and fluttering hearts were not so harshly treated as that in later years. Dozens of amateur dramatic companies must have flourished since those days; new theatres were built; and only the very expert student of the drama can now pretend to say what sort of fare was provided at the Artillery theatre at Matunga when all Bombay society, including the Governor, went to see a performance of "Miss in her Teens and the Padlock" or, still later, "The Spectre Bridegroom" and "The Bear and the Bashaw." The English example was followed and several theatres for the production of plays in Gujarati or Marathi were built in the Grant Road district. Indian drama began to appear in Bombay about the middle of the 19th century, the language employed being Hindi, which subsequently gave place to Urdu and Marathi. A theatre was opened in 1853 for a performance in Gujarathi by Parsi amateurs and from that time on Indian dramatic companies began to increase in number and several new theatres were opened, for the most part in the Falkland Road and Grant Road district.

It was about 1908 that the cinema first appeared in Bombay, in a tin shed near the Municipal offices and in a tent or two on the Maidan. As the cinema gradually won its public, long and complicated stories were filmed and shown in serial parts from week to week—which, after all, was only a revival of the practice of publishing novels on the instalment system—and, since nobody could possibly remember even if he could understand the plot, the tale was published in full (as an advertisement) in *The Times of India*.

Music, like the other arts, has flourished in spasms in Bombay. The nautch party, so far as the English at any rate are concerned, has died out. Social reformers allege that its disappearance is not regretted, and no doubt they are right. To turn to the other extreme of musical entertainment, the most consistent supporter of music, apart from the regimental bands, has been the Cathedral, where organ recitals and concerts of sacred music have always been popular. Musical clubs and societies come and go. In the 'eighties a Glee Club called "The Minnesingers," forerunner of the excellent Male Voice Choir of to-day, was formed in the Gymkhana and gave many concerts. The most ambitious of all these attempts was the Bombay Symphony and Chamber Orchestra, which was founded in 1921 by Mr. J. B. Petit to whose enthusiasm and munificence it owed a great deal. Mr. Edward Behr, writes Mr. Farrokh E. Bharucha in a pamphlet on the subject, looked after the musical programme and Mr. Petit furnished the financial obligato. The endeavour was to form an orchestra of professional players who would regularly have an opportunity of concerted practice and to whom local amateurs would form useful adjuncts. It was, unfortunately, found more difficult to build up an audience than a band, even after the Cowasji Jehangir Hall was available for concerts; and in 1928 the Orchestra came to a lamented end and, not for the first time in its history, Bombay was accused of Philistinism and of not having a soul.

However true or false that charge may be, there can be no question that Bombay has a heart and the innumerable charities which thrive in it make great demands on the time and the pockets of the citizens. But perhaps there is as yet no general idea, even in the small European community, of the amount of work required of those who conscientiously serve on Committees of social and philanthropic societies. Bombay has, or had, an intellect also. It has in the Prince of Wales' Museum of Western India magnificent art collections—in great part the gift of Sir Ratan Tata and Sir Dorab Tata—archæological and other exhibits, as well as the fine collections of the Bombay Natural History Society which seems to be about the only learned society with large membership that has flourished in Bombay for any length of time and continues, despite hard times, to flourish. It is to be hoped that the excellent example of that Society will in time be rivalled by the Bombay Historical Society which was founded in

1925. That Society may claim if not descent from, at any rate affinity with, the Literary Society, which the learned and pompous Sir James Mackintosh founded in 1804. From the Literary Society there arose the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (which in turn absorbed the Bombay Geographical Society which had been established in 1831) which attracts many members on account of its library. The Anthropological Society also, which dates from the 'eighties, happily seems to have come to stay. Other learned societies have for the most part had but a brief existence in Bombay. Among them—a strange exotic—was a branch of the Classical Association which owed its existence mainly to the enthusiasm of a learned Jesuit, Father Ailinger. It must have been during its brief life-time that Mr. E. J. Bolus, of the Civil Service, published a poem on Bombay in Latin hexameters.

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